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CHRISTIAN GARVER AND DESCENDANTS
GENEALOGY

by

CATHERINE GARVER

1987

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CHRISTIAN GARVER
1720 (?) - 1798
Elizabeth _____ (3)
1757-1828

SAMUEL I
1782-1853
Margaret Emrick
1785-1854

SAMUEL II
1821-1916
Sarah Coldsmith
1820-1902

Charles L.	Austin	Sarah Alice Garver	Martha Emma	T. Franklin	John Anson
1843-1880	1847-1918	1851-1931 Thomas Bond 1849-1938	1849 - ?	1845-1929	1854-1936

Florence Emma Bond	Frances May Bond	Sarah Helen Bond	Henry Austin Bond	Frank Garver Bond	Samuel Marion Bond
1876-1966 Herbert Crosby	1878-1882	1880 - 1901	1882-1926 Doris Pittam	1886-1929 Zora Bryan	1888-1947

SARAH AND THOMAS L. BOND with Frank and Mary Garver - Topeka, Kansas -1875

The Bond Home - 746 Santa Fe Ave., Salina, Kansas

SARAH ALICE GARVER BOND

Birth: December 20, 1851. in Scotland, Pennsylvania

Parents: Fifth child of Samuel and Sarah Goldsmith Garver

Marriage: Thomas L. Bond, December 22, 1874 in Scotland, Pennsylvania

Children: Florence Emma 1876
Frances Mary 1878
Sarah Helen 1880
Henry 1882
Frank 1886
Samuel Marion 1888

Death: February 14, 1931, Salina, Kansas

Sarah Alice Garver, the fifth child of Samuel and Sarah Garver was born in the Scotland, Pennsylvania, family home.[1] She was named for her mother but was called by her middle name, which seemed to be the practice of the family. Like her brothers and sisters, her adult life was molded by her early home training -- strict but loving discipline, devout religious dedication, transferal of sense of duty by example that included community responsibility and church involvement and service, and an inspiration for achievement and accomplishment.

Her education started in the local schools and later she attended the Hagerstown Seminary for Young Ladies at Hagerstown, Pennsylvania. The Hagerstown Female Seminary was founded September 29, 1852, with dimensions sufficient to accommodate 100 boards and 100 day scholars. Citizens of Hagerstown and its vicinity subscribed in excess of $25,000 for the building and property for this school under the auspices of the Lutheran church.[2]

She was listed in the 1860 Census taken in Scotland, Pennsylvania, as "Sarah,8" and in the 1870 Census of Scotland as "Alice, 18".

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1. Illustriana, Kansas, 1933
2. Plea for Female Education, D.F. Bittle, Hagerstown, Md. 1852

On August 8, 1867 (presumably around the time Alice and her sister Emma were attending the Hagerstown Seminary) Alice, along with sister Emma, Cousin Annie Garver from Forreston, Illinois, brother Austin and father Samuel Garver, attended the graduation of brother T. Franklin from Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Their signatures are to be found on the Visitors Register of the Philamothaean Society, [1] of which Franklin was a member. (Their father also was a member in 1841) [2] One can imagine the necessary preparations to bring this group from Scotland to attend the graduation ceremony of their brother. Surely the young girls, dressed in their finest, were all agog at the thought of visiting this boys' school and meeting their brother's friends.

In 1871 Alice's brother, T. Franklin, was the first to leave the family hearth in Scotland and venture forth into the new lands of the West. This young lawyer eventually settled in Salina, Kansas, and the next year his glowing reports of opportunities persuaded his brother Charles and his wife Jane to leave their families and migrate to Salina where they both practiced medicine. Around 1873 or 1874 the brothers invited Alice to visit them in this distant place.

At this time the Chambersburg papers each week carried articles about the life the Pennsylvanians in Kansas were leading and railroads advertised regarding groups being formed to migrate to the west. As an example, on February 25, 1880, the Valley Spirit carried the headline "Ho for Kansas and the West." "Hoefner will run excursion train from the line of the Cumberland Valley R.R. and accompany the same on the following dates, Feb. 17, March 2, March 6 and 23rd and April 6th. For information and tickets apply to P. Hoefner, Agent, K.P.Ry., Chambersburg. Parties who intend going with these excursions should report in order that accommodations may be served." (Railroad fare: Harrisburg to Chicago - $25.35.)

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1. Visitors Register, Philamothaean Society, Library, Gettysburg College, Pa.
2. Exhibit -- Minutes of Philamothaean Society, March 14, 1841

On May 12, 1880, in a regular column feature, "Letters from Kansas" it was written, "There are a great number of Franklin County people in this country. Persons passing through the country can generally tell where a Pennsylvanian lives. They are facing up in eastern style....."[1]

During Alice's visit she met and fell in love with another young lawyer in Salina, Thomas L. Bond. One can imagine how this dashing young Southern gentleman, six years her senior, must have swept her off her feet with his soft accent and Louisiana ways. Not only was he a friend and future law partner of Franklin, but was extremely brilliant, having graduated from Washington University in St. Louis at the head of his class and received a scholarship to attend the Washington University Law School. After his arrival in Kansas in 1867, he had served as State Representative from Montgomery County and Register of U.S. Land Office in Salina in 1871.[2] How dashing and different he must have seemed -- with his liberal viewpoints -- from the conservative farm boys she had grown up with in Pennsylvania!

On December 22, 1874, Alice and Thomas Bond were married in the Garver family home in Scotland, Pennsylvania.[3] After visiting the home and seeing early photographs this author can visualize the petite Alice coming down the stairs of the central hallway on the arm of her solemn bearded father and entering the second parlor on the north side of the house. The local Lutheran minister from St. John Lutheran Church in nearby Greenvillage was standing by the fringe-draped mantle on the fireplace, upon which were a number of family photographs. In the room her mother primly sat on a red velour Victorian chair with the lace antimatacassar on the back. Perhaps a family friend or her sister sat on the stool by the organ,

1. Valley Spirit, Chambersburg, May 12, 1880
2. Illustriana, Kansas, 1933.
3. Salina Journal, Feb. 17, 1931

playing the wedding march or a favorite hymn from the family hymn books stored in the cabinet next to the fireplace in the other parlor. On the walls were the pictures she had looked at many times as a little girl -- prints of the Signing of the Declaration of Independence and a Madonna and Child.[1] The mahogany etagere held their family keepsakes, some of them wedding gifts to Samuel and Sarah.

While the affair was a very happy occasion, probably Sarah felt a twinge of sadness at the thought of her youngest daughter being married to this stranger from such a faraway place, although comforted by the thought that her sons would be there with her. How excited this 25 year old young lady must have been, as she kissed the family goodbye at the railroad station in Chambersburg, as visions of new worlds to conquer danced in her head!

The Bonds' first home was located in the block on West Iron Avenue between 9th and 10th Streets -- three blocks from the home where Franklin and his wife Mary lived. It was a lovely home for a new bride, built originally by Col. W. A. Phillips, founder of Salina. Later they built a new home at 746 South Santa Fe Avenue -- located at Santa Fe Avenue and Bond Street (named for her husband).[2]

In 1876 their first child was born -- a daughter, Florence Emma (named for Alice's dear sister who was only two years older than she.) On December 28, 1878, another little girl was born, named Frances May, and called Fanny. At the age of 6 1/2 months, she was baptized by the minister of St. John's Lutheran Church -- a church founded by her brother Franklin and his wife Mary, among others, and to which wooden structure her father had contributed $50 on July 19, 1880, in its early organizational years.[3]

Two years later, Sarah Helen (called Helen but named after Alice's mother) was born on January 26, 1880. February 18, 1882, brought the

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1. Exhibit. Photograph Album by Austin Garver, 1886
2. Salina Journal, February 17, 1931.
3. St. John's Church Records.

birth of their first son, named Henry Austin (after her brother Austin). It was also in this year that tragedy first struck this happy little family and on August 5, 1882, Fanny died at the age of four years. The sadness of the event is marked simply on her tombstone in Gypsum Hill Cemetery, Salina, Kansas -- "In memory of our darling Fanny."(1)

Their fifth child, Frank Garver, was born April 7, 1886, named for his uncle Franklin and to perpetuate the family name of Garver, of which they were all so proud. Church records show Frank was baptized on September 18, 1886, at the family home. The sixth child in 12 years was born January 18, 1888, and named Samuel Marion (after his grandfather). On April 1, 1901, tragedy was to strike again when 21 year old Helen died.

In June of 1887, her father Samuel Garver, traveled to Salina to see his children and grandchildren. Her mother was apparently not in good health enough to make the long trip. Her brother Austin wrote of his visit -- "What a pleasure father's letters were -- with the full and vivid account of his great experience in the West. We shall attempt nothing in Europe as fatiguing as his account of Pike's Peak and I doubt if we shall see grander scenery."(2)

While a typical frontier housewife, in addition to bearing and rearing a large family, beset with sickness and death, Alice from the start brought her innate capabilities to building and introducing culture to this new settlement. To quote the Salina Journal, February 17, 1931 --

> "Mrs. Bond exerted a wide influence in church and club work and, in earlier years, in civic affairs. She had been on the board of directors and served as vice-president of the city library since its organization was a prominent member of the Women's Auxiliary, which was the strongest influence in starting the Salina Y.M.C.A. She served at one time as secretary of the Kansas State Federation of Women's Clubs, and was charter

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1. 1971 Visit to Gypsum Hill Cemetery, Salina, Kansas
2. Austin Garver Letter from Europe, July 11, 1887

member of the Current Literature Club, dean of Salina's women's clubs. Her best service was inspired by the Lutheran church to which she gave a life long devotion.

"Mrs. Bond was at one time president of the national women's missionary society, and when at the head of the Kansas state organization, started and edited for years the Lutheran Synod Reporter. During her later years, she devoted herself to the work of the King's Daughters class of the church, of which she was teacher. She organized years ago the women's missionary society of this church and was for years Superintendent of the Sunday School, having the record for continuous service as officer and teacher."

Her family losses and tragedies seemed to strengthen her devotion to God and His church. In the library of St. John's Lutheran Church hangs a picture of Alice Bond above her books which her daughter donated to the Church after the death of her mother.(1)

The 1880 Census lists her as a resident of Salina. Others listed in the Thomas L. Bond household were: Thomas L. Bond, 30, born in Louisiana; Florence Emma 4; Frances 2; Helen 5/12; and two servants.

In 1892 Franklin became actively engaged in politics, running for the position of Attorney General on the Republican ticket and being defeated because of the Populist movement.(2) It must have been a strain on the family ties when her brilliant husband spoke out vociferously as a Democrat and Populist.(3)

Through the years she was a faithful correspondent with her family in their Round Robin letter (which they called the Budget Letter). Austin speaks often of hearing from his sister Alice.

On September 20, 1892, Alice and two of her children came back home to the family in Chambersburg to celebrate the Golden Anniversary of her parents. All the Garver children and their spouses were able

1. 1971 Visit to church
2. Eminent Men of Kansas, 1901
3. Illustriana, Kansas, 1933

to attend with the exception of Franklin who was in the throes of the political campaign.

What a happy and gala homecoming this must have been for her! Newspaper reports record the dinner took place at 5 o'clock Tuesday evening in the Chambersburg Queens Street home and 18 persons sat down to the "festive board."

> "At the conclusion of the dinner there was an enjoyable hour of reminiscenses and remarks. Rev. Austin S. Garver acted as master of ceremonies and in response to his call addresses were made by L. S. Clarke, Esq., Mr. M. W. Thomson; Mrs. T. L. Bond; John A. Garver, Esq., who kept the table in a roar and last of all by the bridegroom himself. It was nearly 8 o'clock when the guests rose from the table and the occasion was one never to be forgotten by those present."(1)

On December 26, 1928, Memorial Records show that the Bond Family sent a floral piece for the funeral of Elizabeth Garver, the second wife of Franklin, who died very suddenly at the age of 65 in Topeka, Kansas. About two weeks later, the Memorial Record shows that they were again to send a floral piece for the funeral of Alice's brother Franklin, who died in Kansas City. His grandson, George P. Garver, remembered during his youth that the two families visited each other often in the Topeka home of Franklin and that they also attended his grandfather's funeral in Topeka. There is also in existence a photograph taken of Alice and Thomas Bond and Franklin and Mary Garver taken in Topeka, Kansas.

Unfortunately, this brave and pious woman was to live to see two more of her children die. On May 23, 1926, Henry Austin died at the age of 44 to be followed by Frank on October 4, 1929, at the age of 43.(2) How sad it must have been for her to go to Lot 102, Block "B" of the Gypsum Hill Cemetery where the Garver-Bond gravesite was located and to decorate with flowers the graves of her four children in addition to the graves of her brother Franklin's two children, Franklin,

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1. Franklin Repository, Chambersburg, Pa., September 21, 1892
2. Gypsum Hill Cemetery, Salina, Kansas

and his two wives.

In June of 1930, Alice, at the age of 79, suffered a fall in her home, followed by heart disease and paralysis. Her death came at 6:30 p.m. in the family home on Saturday, February 14, 1931, after a lingering illness. She was buried in Gypsum Hill Cemetery alongside her loved ones after a funeral service at her beloved St. John's Lutheran Church. She was survived by her husband, Thomas Bond (who died seven years later on July 29, 1938); a daughter, Mrs. Florence Crosby of San Antonio, Texas; a son Judge Samuel Bond, of Salinas; a sister, Mrs. Emma Thomson on Atlantic City; a brother, John A. Garver, New York City; and two grandchildren, Frank Garver Bond and Doris Virginia Bond, New York City.(1)

Note: The grandchildren, Frank Garver Bond and Doris Virginia Bond, and their descendants are the only remaining persons in this line. Their whereabouts are not known. (1979)

Children

Florence Emma Bond Crosby
1876-1966

Florence was married to Herbert Crosby and in 1931 lived in San Antonio, Texas. However, at the time of her death in 1966, her tombstone in Gypsum Hill Cemetery, Salina, Kansas read only F. E. Bond. Apparently she was divorced and took back her maiden name. It was Florence who gave items belonging to her father to the Salina Museum: folding iron key, revolving book case from her father's office and an antique ice pick among other things. She gave her mother's photograph and family books to the St. John's Lutheran Church Library, Salina.

Frances Mary ("Fanny") Bond
1878-1882

Sarah Helen Bond

1880-1926

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1. Salina Journal, February 17, 1931

Henry Austin Bond
1882-1926

Henry was married to Doris Pittman. He died on May 23, 1926, and is buried in the family gravesite in Gypsum Hill Cemetery, Salina, but his wife Doris is not.

Samuel Marion Bond
1888

Little is known about Samuel except that at the time of his mother's death in 1931, he was living in Salina and was a Judge, so apparently he followed in his father's legal footsteps.

HANS JACOB GERBER

CHRISTIAN GARVER
1720-(?) - 1798
Elizabeth _____ (3)
1757-1828

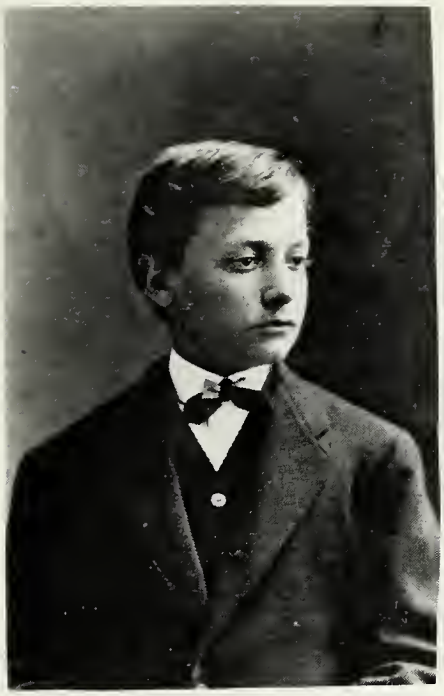
SAMUEL I
1782-1853
Margaret Emrick
1785-1854

SAMUEL II
1821-1916
Sarah Goldsmith
1820-1902

T. Franklin	Charles L.	JOHN ANSON	Martha Emma	Sarah Alice	Austin Samuel
1845-1929	1843-1880	1854-1936	1849 - ?	1851-1931	1847-1918
		Rebecca Brewster			
		1854 - ?			

CHAUNCEY BREWSTER
1886-1973
Alice Pine (1)
Virginia Rook (2)

Edith G.	Allison	JOHN ANSON II	Joan B.	Maud D.
1919 --	1921 --	1944 --	1939 --	1941 --
Frank Larkin	Henry Caesar II		John Downey	Donland Greer



John Anson taken when a student at Phliips - Andover circa 1871

1854 - 1936

Photo taken in Reading, Pa. circa 1857

CHAUNCEY BREWSTER GARVER
1886 - 1973

JOHN ANSON GARVER II
1944 --

THE GARVER HOME - Wrexleigh,
Oyster Bay Cove, Long Island, N.Y.

JOHN ANSON GARVER

Birth: July 11, 1854, Scotland, Pa.
Parents: Sixth and youngest child of Samuel and Sarah Coldsmith Garver
Marriage: Rebecca Cone Brewster, October 5, 1882, Mt. Carmel, Conn.
Children: Chauncey Brewster - April 1, 1886
Death: October 23, 1936, Oyster Bay, New York

John Anson Garver was the sixth and youngest child of Samuel and Sarah Coldsmith Garver, born on July 11, 1854 at Scotland, Pennsylvania. He, like his brothers and sisters, was a product of the Garver upbringing which produced six outstanding children, -- intelligent, conservative, all possessed of leadership qualities that caused them to be respected and revered throughout their lifetimes -- a credit to their parents and the Garver name. He was called by both names or "Anson" by the family, although later on in business he was known by "John".

From a photograph taken in Reading, Pennsylvania by F. M. Yeager, and found among the effect of his brother, Franklin, John Anson, had long, light brown curls reaching six inches below his shoulders, when he was a little boy. His eyes had a soulful serious look with heavy lids. His mouth turned slightly at the corners and there was a dimple in his chin. A later photograph taken by D. B. Vickery in Haverhill, Mass., showed the young man while at Phillips - Andover Academy with his hair darker and cut short.

At the time of the Battle of Gettysburg, Anson was nine years old and it must have been anawesome experience for him -- hearing about his two older brothers, Franklin and Charles, being in the

service and how he must have relished their tales of their brief skirmish with the enemy, their capture and escape. When Chambersburg was burned, the reports must have been very terrifying to a little boy only six miles away. A letter from his son Chauncey in 1971 tells that his father had oten told him how General Robert E. Lee was housed at their home one night during the Gettysburg confrontation. So far this genealogist has not been able to discover if there was validity to this -- but apparently some enemy troops and officers were quartered on the farm and it made a large impression on him.

Education

As a child he attended the public schools in the Scotland area but thereafter his educational course differed from the other brothers who attended the Lutheran sponsored schools -- a direct influence of his brother Austin. At the time he was ready to attend preparatory school, Austin had left Pennsylvania College in Gettysburg in 1867 and transferred to Andover College where he graduated in 1871 and studied Theology for a year in Andover Graduate School. Austin having tasted the fruits of the Eastern School attitudes, obviously used his powers of persuasion upon his father to get him to send his youngest son to the elite Phillips-Andover Academy in Andover, Mass.

In fact, in a letter written by Anson's son Chauncey Garver, in 1971, he said, "The only member of my father's family whom I knew was his brother Austin. He was about six years older than my father and was instrumental in persuading the family to send my father to school at Phillips Academy, Andover." The importance of this decision can be noted by the fact that his son would mention an event which occurred one hundred years before.

Like his father and his brother Franklin, while at Phillips, John was a member of the Philomaethean Society, the "prestigious debating society" for two years. He was secretary of his class nine and a member of the Olympic Team (class teams had individual team names).[1]

After graduating in 1871, John Anson entered the Ivy League, attending Yale University until his graduation in 1875. While there he distinguished himself by being chosen as the Commencement Speaker at his graduation. In his Freshman year he won Second Prize in debating. In his Junior and Senior years he received Dissertation Appointment and the Townsend Premium.[2] He was interested in athletics, being on the Class Baseball Team in his Junior and Senior years and the Senior Class Football Team. He was a member of Gamma Nu, Phi Theta Psi, Psi Upsilon and Scroll and Key.

After his undergraduate training at Yale he went on to receive his LLB degree from Columbia University Law School in New York in May, 1877. While in Columbia he worked on Appleton's Encyclopedia and contributed articles and reviews to the Popular Science Monthly.[3]

This change in the family educational pattern was assuredly accountable for the different life style he and his brother Austin were to adapt in their future lives. For example, his marriage to Rebecca Cone Brewster, a member of one of the oldest and most prestigious families of New England had to be attributed to his attendance at Yale. Not only his outstanding intelligence and personality, but undoubtedly his graduation from Yale University and subsequent contacts were partially responsible for his becoming affiliated with . . one of the oldest and most leading law firms on Wall Street.

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1. Letter from Mrs. Waters Kellogg, Andover/Phillips Academy, October 6, 1976
2. Obituary Record of Yale College, p. 13
3. Yale '75, Twenty Years After, p. 58

Marriage and Homes

On October 5, 1882, he married Rebecca Cone Brewster of New Haven, Connecticut, in Mt. Carmel, Connecticut. She was the daughter of The Rev. Joseph Brewster, Episcopal clergyman, and Sarah (Bunce) Brewster a direct descendant of Elder Wm. Brewster of Plymouth Colony. Her family was deeply involved in Yale tradition. Her father received his BA in 1842; her brother, the Rt. Rev. Chaucey B. Brewster, in 1868; brother James H. Brewster in 1877; Rev. Wm. J. Brewster in 1881; and Rt. Rev. Benjamin Brewster in 1882.[1] On April 4, 1886 their only child was born - a son, Chauncey Brewster named for his uncle.

In 1895 he wrote for the yearbook, "Yale'75. Twenty Years After."--"I am somewhat of a mugwump." He declared that he was in favor of gold monometalliam; of tariff for revenue only, while necessary; of free trade, of civil service reform; municipal reform; and believe in concentrating taxes on land values. He admitted he had done no work in politics. He expressed his opinion that he was in favor of intercollegiate football, but thought it needed limiting to prevent its degenerating into professionalism and ruffianism. He also favored intercollegiate athletics generally to a limited extent. At that time he was a member of Yale Alumni Association of New York, of the University Club and the Reform Club. He gave his address as No. 46 Wall Street, New York.

In 1916 or thereabouts, their son Chauncey[2] was living with his parents at 150 Central Park South, New York, and at their summer home in Oyster Bay, L.I. Anson and Rebecca in later years maintained two homes, one at 300 Park Avenue, New York, and a palatial estate called Wrexleigh, Oyster Bay Cove, Long Island, New York. In 1907

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1. Yale University Obituary Record, p. 14
2. Yale University Biographies, circa 1916

Austin wrote, "We were much indebted to Anson and Rebecca for the good start they gave us. To be in their lovely home, bautiful with books and pictures....." Its formal gardens and grounds were a show place.

Garver Family Contact

Despite the miles and years of separation the Samuel Garver II family were very close. They kept in touch by means of their frequent "Budget Letters" which they sent from member to member, and their affectionate reunions. Their parents, and especially their dominant, loved and respected father, were a strong cohesive force upon their children's lives.

Probably because of their nearness in age and geography, their similar educational backgrounds, and their affluent way of life, Austin and John Anson seemed to have had a closer bond not shared by the others, although all were distinguishedly successful in their own fields. Since Austin's correspondence has been preserved and bound in a Worchester, Mass. genealogical library, there are numerous references to their friendship. Austin saw his brother frequently and spoke of being entertained by Rebecca and Anson. During Austin's many European travels, he complained often of being lonesome for his family and that they did not write to him, but judging from Austin's comments, Anson was better than the rest of the clan in his correspondence to his brother. In view of the fact that Chauncey wrote that he remembered his cousins from New Jersey (children of Emma Garver Thomson) apparently Emma and Anson also kept in touch with each other.

On February 11, 1907, Austin wrote from the Palazzo in Rome, "I guess from father's allusion to a judgeship that Anson has again been urged to take that position. These repeated requests would, I think, make him believe that there were important civic duties that he can't always refuse."

This one trait was unlike the other Garver children who all shouldered multiple civic responsibilities. Perhaps the reason for this was his tremendous business involvement and the fact that the others lived in smaller communities that depended upon them.

Chauncey wrote, "Austin was an early photographer and spent a year abroad in the early 90's at which time he had a plate camera and obtained permission to photograph many of the great paintings in European galleries. He sent my father copies of all these photographs at a time when there were no picture postcards of those masterpieces."

On September 12, 1884, Austin wrote regarding a death in Rebecca's family, "We have felt the greatest sympathy for Anson and Rebecca. When we read his letter from Lake George at Stratford, we spoke of the good time they would have there. It seems too bad they could have not remained."

In 1886 Anson joined the family for a visit with his parents in Scotland, Pennsylvania. His brother Austin, who was an early photographic enthusiast, took pictures of the family home in Scotland, Pennsylvania, and the following posed for him on the front porch: Samuel and wife Sarah, his beloved parents; brother Franklin who was practicing law and living in Salina, Kansas; his sister Emma and her husband McLeod Thomson and their three boys from Altoona, Penn.; Jane, widow of his deceased brother Charles and their daughter Phoebe; and Anson. The only missing member was sister Alice who lived in Kansas. Austin was a minister of the First Unitarian Church in Worcester, Mass. at that time. John Anson is shown again in a sober view, wearing a straw hat.

The newspaper photo appearing at the time of his death in 1936 showed his thinning gray hair and a rather full gray mustache, but still the pensive soulful look in his eyes.

In June, 1887, Austin mentions receiving a letter from Rebecca. In June, 1890, he records that Anson and Rebecca saw them off at the ship in New York. In July, 1890, he wrote, "We wish Anson and Rebecca a very pleasant voyage down the Provinces and hope his description of the trip will be saved for us."

On September 20, 1892, the family convened in Chambersburg to celebrate the Golden Anniversary of their parents. Samuel and Sarah had retired from the family farm home in Scotland and were living on Queens Street in Chambersburg and Samuel was serving as Vice-President of the National Bank in Chambersburg. Of the children only Franklin was unable to come as he was in the throes of a political campaign for Attorney General of Kansas. The Franklin Repository on September 21, 1892 wrote in detail of the gala occasion -- "one never to be forgotten by those present." They reported how 18 members of the family sat down at the "festive board" to enjoy an hour of reminiscences and remarks. One can imagine the humorous and nostalgic incidents the five children recalled of their happy childhood. Howeversolemn John Anson may have appeared in his photographs the description that in his address at the dinner he "kept the table in a roar" was a testimony to his ready wit and sense of humor.

In 1904 in the wedding book of Charlotte and Robert Garver (nephew of Anson) it was recorded that John A. Anson sent a silver bread tray. In 1931 the family sent an etching to George (grandson of Franklin) and Sue Garver at the time of their wedding.

On June 20, 1918, Austin, who was the most sentimental member of the family -- the "whip" of the Garver Congress and the one who kept this closely knit family together, died. In his will he remembered each of his brothers and sisters: $500 to John A; $500 to T. Franklin; $1000 to Emma and $2000 to Alice; $5000 to Phoebe, the daughter of Charles. So in his last action, Austin made his statement of his ever present love for his brothers and sisters.

Personal Interests

His interests were varied, but his favorite pasttimes were observation and study of nature, particularly birds. He and Rebecca were fond of traveling and traveled to Europe extensively. Like his brother Austin, he had a tremendous interest in art and acquired a notable collection, including some fine examples of work of 18th Century English portrait painters.(1)

Social organizations to which he belonged were: Yale Club, University Club, Bankers Club of America, Army and Navy Club of America, Piping Rock Country Club, Creek Club of Long Island, Psi Upsilon, and Century Club.(2)

He was prominent in philanthropies and active in the affairs of the Miriam Osborne Memorial Home at Harrison, New York. He was also a member of the Metropolitan Museum of Art(3) and the Museum of Natural History.

In 1931 John contributed $100,000 to the Yale Endowment Fund to establish a chair of jurisdiction in the school of law.(4)

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1. National Cyclopedia of American Biography, VOL. XXXII, p. 428
2. Cyclopedia of American Biography, VOL. XI, p. 218
3. New York papers
4. Times Union, Brooklyn, New York

Legal Career

John Anson Garver was admitted to the New York Bar in 1877. In October of that year he entered the office of Chamberlain, Carter & Eaton. He left that firm in July, 1879, to become managing clerk in the office of Shearman & Sterling. This position he held until the Autumn of 1884, when he became a partner of that firm.[1] In 1918 he became senior partner.[2]

The law firm was well established when he was hired by them. The firm had been prominently identified with the famous Tilton-Beecher case, the "Black Friday" cases and the Erie Railroad cases in the 1870's. The late Thomas G. Shearman was a personal friend of Henry Ward Beecher and took the leading part in the defense.

As general counsel for the Consolidated Gas Company, he appeared before the United States Supreme Court during the lengthy litigations in the late Twenties. In addition to this connection with utilities, he was also a trustee of the Consolidated Gas Company of New York. Curiously enough, his brother Franklin also was connected with utilities and Franklin's son Robert was chief counsel for Gas Service Company, a subsidiary of Cities Service Co., and Franklin's grandson George was President of Natural Gas Pipeline Company.

In 1918 his partner John W. Sterling died, leaving $20,000,000 to Yale University and John was appointed a trustee of the Sterling estate, which in 1931 presented the $7,000,000 Sterling Memorial Library.

In 1929 he was on the board of advisers of the Voluntary Com mittee of Lawyers, Inc., which joined the movement against the Eighteenth Amendment for the Repeal of Prohibition. Along the same vein, Franklin was also associated legally with this movement.

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1. Yale '75 - Twenty Years After, p. 58
2. Yale University Obituary Record, p. 14

One of the noted cases in which he was a participant as counsel was that of Slater vs. Slater in which he succeeded in establishing the important principle that upon the death of a partner the right to use the firm name is a partnership asset to be sold with other assets.(1)

He was a member of the American Bar Association, New York State Bar Association, Association of the Bar of the City of New York, and New York Law Institute.

At the time of his death he was a director of the following companies: National City Bank, International Banking Corporation, New York Trust Co., Bond and Mortgage Guarantee Co., United Electric Light & Power Co., Consolidated Gas Co. of New York, New York Edison Co., East River Gas Company, New Amsterdam Gas Company, Central Union Gas Company, Northern Union Gas Company, New York and Queens Electic Light & Power Co., Astoria Light Heat and Power Co., Peekskill Lighting and R. R. Co., Bronx Gas and Electric Co., Great American Insurance Co., American Alliance Insurance Co., Remington Arms Co., Northern Westchester Lighting Co., Herring Hale Marvin Safe Co., Westchester Lighting Co.(2)

In 1929 he authored the biography, John William Sterling. In 1927 he established the John A. Garver chair of Jurisprudence in the School of Law at Yale University and added to this endowment a further gift in his will.(3)

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1. Associated Press Release
2. Cyclopedia of American Biography, VOL. XI, p. 218
3. Yale University Obituary Record

The following newspaper article chronicles one of John Anson's legal activities:

Entire Estate of P. A. Rockefeller
Willed to Widow

Former Isabelle Stillman
Becomes One of World's
Wealthiest Women

By United Press

Greenwich, Conn., October 13.--The entire estate of the late Percy A. Rockefeller, conservatively estimated at $100,000,000 is left to the widow, under his will admitted by probate Saturday by Judge Harold Knapp.

On her death the will directs the principal shall be divided among the Rockefeller's 5 children: Avery, Mrs. Isabel Rockefeller Lincoln, Mrs. Winifred Rockefeller Emeny, Misses Faith and Gladys Rockefeller.

The will names Rockefeller's friend, John A. Garver, and the National City Bank as executors and trustees. The will is dated May 24, 1927.

The petition for administration gave no figures for the value of the estate beyond formal statement that Mr. Rockefeller who died last month at 66 years of age, left real estate in excess of $10,000 and personal property in excess of $10,000.

Mr. Rockefeller, a native of New York City was the son of William and Almira Goodsell Rockefeller and a nephew of J. D. Rockefeller, Sr.

Death

On the morning of October 23, 1936, John Anson Garver died of coronary thrombosis at their summer home in Oyster Bay, New York, at the age of 82. He was buried in Memorial Cemetery, Cold Spring, New York,[1] and was survived by his wife, son, and two granddaughters. Funeral services were held in their Oyster Bay home the following Monday at 10:30 a.m.[2]

The Associated Press headlined his death by the description, "Noted New York Attorney Dies."[3] John Anson Garver attained ultimate success in life--he amassed a multimillion dollar fortune, lived lavishly, had a happy marriage, and attained social prominence being listed with his family in the Social Register. His able son followed in his footsteps in his law firm and he reached the heights in his legal career -- both by reputation and accomplishment.

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1. Yale College Obituary Record, p. 12-13
2. Times Union, Brooklyn, New York
3. New York paper.

CHAUNCEY BREWSTER GARVER

Birth: April 4, 1886, New York, New York[1] [2]

Parents: Only child of John Anson and Rebecca Bunce Brewster Garver

Marriage: 1--Alice Pine, June 27, 1917, New York[3]
Divorced November, 1932

2--Virginia Rook, May 7, 1938[3]

Children: 1--Edith Pine 1919
Allison G. 1921

2--Joan Brewster 1939
Maud D. 1941
John Anson 1944

Death: February 21, 1973, Oyster Bay, New York

Homes: 515 Madison Ave., New York City, N.Y.[4]
150 Central Park South, New York City, N.Y.[3]
Oyster Bay, Long Island, N.Y. (3)

Office: Shearman and Sterling, Lawyers
55 Wall Street, New York City, N.Y.[3]

Chauncey Brewster Garver was the only child of John Anson and Rebecca Brewster Garver. He was born April 4, 1886, in New York City and lived in the lap of luxury his entire life.

Education

Chauncey prepared for Yale at Taft School and following in his father's footsteps, graduated from Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts, in 1904, and received his A.B. degree from Yale University in 1908. He then attended and graduated from Harvard Law School in 1911.

While at Phillips Academy, he was a member of Pi Alpha Epsilon Society, the Banjo Club and Mandolin Club. He was Captain of the Class Baseball team. In his classbook at Phillips Academy, where he was known as "Ceeb", he is described as "although quiet, is one of the loyal members of the class and liked and respected by all." He was quoted as saying, "Next to himself he would rather

1. Who's Who, 1962-63.
2. Phillips Bulletin, Spring, 1947
3. Yale Biographies, p. 279
4. Yale Biographies, p. 141

be his son" and his opinion of class baseball was "tres joli".[1] His activities were Banjo Club, Mandolin Club and he was Captain of the class Baseball Team. He graduated from the Academy in the class of 1904.[2]

At Yale University Chauncey was a member of Delta Kappa Epsilon and Scroll & Key and Editor of The Yale Banner.[2] As a freshman he was substitute and official scorer of the 1908 Freshman Baseball Team and also a member of the Freshman Banjo and Mandolin Club. (Coincidentally, his cousin Robert Garver also was participating in the activities of the Mandolin Club at the University of Kansas.) In his Sophomore year he rowed on Club Crew in the Fall Regatta. In addition to his fraternity, he belonged to Corinthian Yacht Club, Sophomore Wranglers, City Government Club, Taft Club and Andover Club. He obtained First Dispute Appointment and roomed with James C. Thornton during his entire course in 320 Welch, 214 Crown Street, 352 White and 343 White.[3]

At Harvard Law School he was Editor of the Harvard Law Review.[2] He lived for three years in "dear old Craigie Hall, Cambridge, with Walter Davis, and Gordon and Howland Auchinloss."[4]

As to the period after his graduation from Harvard College in 1911, he wrote, "I spent the month of July after graduation in a law office in New York, for the purpose of getting a taste of my chosen calling. Owing to my ignorance of the law, however, the taste was somewhat insipid, and I was glad to spend the rest of the summer in the usual forms of relaxation.[5]

He writes of his early travels: "In the summer of 1909 I went to Europe, spending most of my time in Bavaria and Switzerland. I was again seized with the wanderlust in 1911 and immediately after triennial I started on a hasty trip to Japan with one Keith McLeod, Harvard '05. We crossed the Pacific from San Francisco to Yokohama, and returned by the same route, being entertained in princely fashion at Honolulu by Sam Baldwin. Thereby hangs a tale -- but we caught[5]

1. Pot Pourri - Class Book, Phillips Academy, 1904
2. Phillips Bulletin, Spring 1947, p. 5
3. History of the Class of 1908, p. 148
4. Biographies, pp 141-142
5. History of the Class of 1908, p. 141-142, 142-149 (Before 1917)

the boat and I reached New York October 1, ready to enter upon my legal career.(1)

At this point in his life he joined his father's firm, Shearman & Sterling, 55 Wall Street, New York and lived with his family in New York at 515 Madison Avenue, New York.(1)

In another biographical excerpt, published in 1940, he reported: "I have continued to practice law in New York as a member of the firm of Shearman & Sterling. I live in New York City in the winter (150 Central Park South, New York) and at Oyster Bay, Long Island, during the summer. My golf game has not improved. With advancing years I have managed to acquire sufficient standing with my firm to get away for an occasional trip to Europe."

Military

Chauncey's modest report of his military contribution was: "My war record was brief and inglorious; the lack of glory being compensated for, to some extent, by the brevity." His service began with his enlistment as a Private in the Aviation Section of the Signal Corps on December 27, 1917, and was followed by a "somewhat futile course" at the School of Adjutants at Columbus, Ohio, upon the completion of which he was given his commission as Second Lieutenant. His description continues, "I was then assigned to Post Field, Fort Sill, Oklahoma, and thence transferred to the Legal Department of the War Credits Board in Washington, where I fought the war to an indecisive conclusion for a period of eight months." His commission was transferred to the Air Service (Production) on October 19, 1918. He received his discharge early in December.

Politics

As a young man of 26, Chauncey claimed to be an Independent Voter, having voted the Democratic ticket in the 1912 national election and Republican in the state election.(1) However, in 1940, he professed to being a Republican.(2) He served as Mayor

1. History of the Class of 1908, pp. 141-142, 142-149 (Before 1917)
2. History of the Class of 1908 (1940)

of Oyster Bay, Long Island, his and his father's summer home, for a decade.(1)

Organizations

In 1940 his organizations and interests are as follows: Director of General Public Service Corporation and Bank of Montreal Trust Company; director of the Gramercy Boys' Club and Legal Aid Society; member of the University Club, The Century Club, the Yale Club, the Down Town Association, the Piping Rock Club, the Seawanhaka Corinthian Yacht Club. He became partner in the law firm of Shearman & Sterling in 1917 and was a member of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, serving on its admissions and executive committees.(2)

Service to Andover/Phillips

For many years one of his major interests was his service to Andover/Phillips Academy, located in Andover, Mass. He was consistently generous in his contributions to various Phillips Academy projects and was chairman of the Alumni Fund for four years. "He comes from one of our finest Andover Families and is himself generally regarded as one of the most loyal of our graduates." He was the 113th Trustee in the long line since Samuel Phillips, Jr. It was also noted that his father, John A., had been one of the outstanding benefactors of the school.(3)

At a meeting held on November 8, 1946, Chauncey was elected as President of the Alumni Council, as well as being a member of the Executive Committee.(4)

The Andover Bulletin of 1960 wrote the following:(5)

> CHAUNCEY B. GARVER, '04 is a staunch friend and stout supporter of Andover. In the service of the school, he has given it freely of his wisdom and foresight, of his time and energy.
>
> Over the Years Ceeb has served as Class Agent, member of the Alumni Council, President of the Alumni Association, and since 1947, as Charter Trustee. His father was an Andover alumnus; he is the father of an Andover son.

1. Andover Bulletin, May 1973
2. Biographies (Class of 1908) 1940, p. 278
3. Phillips Bulletin, Spring 1947
4. Phillips Bulletin, Summer 1947
5. Andover Bulletin, Summer 1960, p. 22

He was a key figure in the reorganization of the Alumni Association in 1944 and 1945 and in the drafting of the constitution of the Alumni Council. His interest in alumni affairs has continued throughout his term as a Trustee, during all of which he has been Chairman of the Board of Trustees' Committee on Alumni Relations.

He is a partner of the law firm of Shearman, Sterling, and Wright and thanks to his fine legal mind, his judgment on many matters has been invaluable to the Board.

Happily his retirement as an active trustee does not mean that the school loses the benefit of his council and warm interest. As trustee emeritus, he continues to sit with the Board and to receive its agenda and minutes. His retirement does, though, afford this opportunity to pay tribute to the dedication of a man devoted to Andover's welfare, to the hospitality of his and Mrs. Garver's home where many a crucial Andover gathering has been held, and to a generosity of spirit that has made better men of those who have worked closely with him.

In a letter to the author in October, 1971, Chauncey wrote:

"I remember visiting my grandfather and grandmother in Chambersburg in the early 90's and making a trip to Scotland with them to visit the old Garver home. I remember visiting the 'old spring house.'

"...My father did tell me that, at the time of the Battle of Gettysburg, when he was eight or ten years old, General Lee spent the night in our house and some of the confederate Army camped on the place and I imagine pretty well wrecked it."

On November 18, 1971, he wrote again about the General Lee episode and states that the visit occurred the night before the Battle. The author has not been able to authenticate this fact but if possible, it would be important for the preservation of the home. Apparently his father instilled a love in him for this home because he mentions he visited it again "a few years ago." He recalled that his father attended the funeral services for his grandmother.

He wrote of knowing his Uncle Austin well and Austin oftened mentioned Chauncey in his letters. (July 20, 1890, Venice. "We thought Chauncey's remark about the Deity's trousers exceedingly funny.")

When his second cousin, George Garver, was married Chauncey sent a painting in an ornate gold frame as a wedding gift.

Marriage and Family

He was married on June 27, 1917, in New York City, to Alice, daughter of John B. and Caroline (Pryor) Pine. They had two daughters, Edith Pine (Larkin) born January 31, 1919, and Allison (Mrs. Henry A. Caesar) born April 13, 1921. Both children were born in New York City. Chauncey and his first wife were divorced in November, 1932, and he was married a second time, on May 7, 1938, to Virginia Rook, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Royal Rook, of Garden City, New York. They had two daughters, Joan Brewster (Mrs. Ronald C. Anderson), born in New York City on May 3, 1939, and Maud D. (Greer) born in 1941. Their only son, John Anson, was born in 1944.[1] [2]

Death

After a long illness, he died on February 21, 1973, in his home in Oyster Bay, Long Island. Surviving him were his widow, the 5 children, 12 grandchildren and 3 great grandchildren.[2]

---

1. Yale Biographies, p. 279
2. Andover Bulletin, May, 1973

BREWSTER GENEALOGY - Chauncey Garver *

1. William Brewster - Mayflower Pilgrim
2. Love Brewster married Sarah Collier 1634
3. William Brewster (1645-1723) freeman 1689; married Lydia Partridge (daughter of George and Sarah Tracey Partridge) in 1672.
4. Benjamin Brewster (1688-1752); to Preston, Conn.; married Elizabeth Witter (1691-1740); daughter of Eben. and Dorothy Morgan Ritter.
5. Simon Brewster (1720-1801); m. 1742 Anne Andrus (1725-1809).
6. Joseph Brewster (1763-1805); of Norwich; married Hannah Tucker.
7. James Brewster (1788-1866); carriage manufacturer; 1st president, N.H. & H RR; married Mary Hequembourg.
8. Rev. Joseph Brewster (1822-1895); B.A., Yale '42; Rector, Christ Church, New Haven; married Sarah Jane Bunce, died 1907.
9. Rebecca Cone Brewster (1854- ?); married John Anson Garver in 1882, son of Samuel and Sarah Coldsmith Garver.
10. Chauncey Garver (1886-1973)
11. John Anson Garver II (1944-)

*From The Compendium of American Genealogy

JOHN ANSON GARVER II
Son of Chauncey Garver
Grandson of John Anson Garver

JOHN ANSON GARVER (II)

Birth: July 22, 1944, New York City, New York
Parents: Only son of Chauncey Brewster and Virginia Rook Garver.
Unmarried: As of March 1982

John Anson, named for his illustrious grandfather, was born to Chauncey Garver and his second wife in 1944. He attended school at Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. and The American School, Lugano, Switzerland. He entered Yale in September 1963, being a Political Science Major.

While in college he was a member of Branford, Zeta Psi, Haunt Club and Political Union (1963-64). His roommate one year was W. Albinger. While in college his permanent address was listed as Sandy Hill Road, Oyster Bay, New York, 11771-- Later when this was sold he lived with his mother at 300 Park Avenue, New York City.

He graduated from Yale and attended_____Law School.

Since he is the last male Garver in the John Anson Lineage, it is a tragedy that more is not known about John Anson. From Samuel II, there are only 3 male Garvers. Robert Wright Garver and his son, Robert Corwin Garver (from the Franklin Garver Lineage) and John Anson II.

Editor:
David E. Young
Designer:
Lucy Bartholomay
Design Assistant:
Kathy Garraty
Maps:
Deborah Perugi
Illustrator:
Dagmar Frinta
Photographer:
William Ryerson
Copy Editor:
Richard Anthony
Print Director:
Douglas Dwyer

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— JOHN HARRIS

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Above: Capt. John Smith's New England map of 1616.

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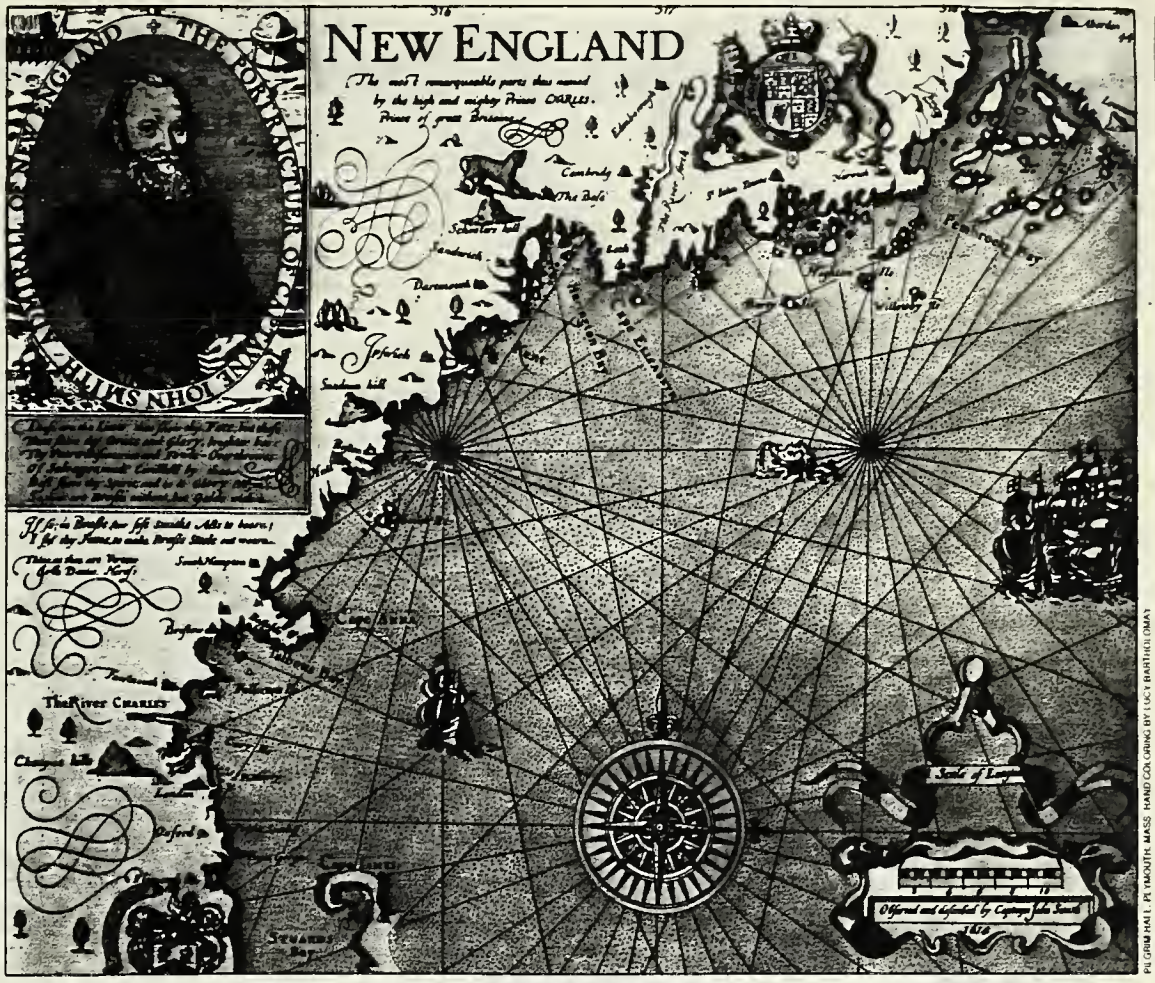

PILGRIM HALL, PLYMOUTH, MASS. HAND COLORING BY LUCY BARTHOLOMAY

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Dates in the text are "old style" as in Pilgrims' accounts — prior to the Gregorian calendar introduced in 1752 in Great Britain and the colonies.

The arrest and jailing of the Pilgrims

Persecuted and scorned, these simple farmers leave behind all they know and love to seek religious freedom in Holland.

CHAPTER

· I ·

"There was a large company of them purposed to get passage at Boston in Lincolnshire, and for that end had hired a ship wholly to themselves and made agreement with the master to be ready at a certain day. . . ."

An eyewitness and participant, William Bradford, then 17 years of age, described in those words the beginning of the Pilgrims' first, heartbreaking attempted emigration from the Midlands of England that would eventually lead — by chance — to the first permanent colony in a faraway land yet to be called New England.

The time: mid-autumn, 1607.

Why had these people, these farmers — Bradford said that they "had only been used to a plain country life and the innocent trade of husbandry" — engaged a shipmaster to take them out of a land beloved alike to generations of their ancestors and to themselves? Because they were being persecuted by their new sovereign, James I, recently arrived from his kingdom of Scotland.

Like his predecessor, Elizabeth I, King James was an absolute monarch who combined in his crown and person control of both church and state. Not long after his coronation as England's king, he called the nation's highest civil and ecclesiastical authorities to his Hampton Court Palace outside London, and there proclaimed that he would make all his subjects conform to his state religion or bound them out of the realm.

"There was no hope," said Bradford, that this small band of dissenters — these people about to become self-exiles — could stay in their remote Midland area, the village of Scrooby and its surrounding hamlets at the northern tip of Nottinghamshire where it borders so closely on Yorkshire to the north and Lincolnshire to the east. Moreover, said Bradford, they had heard that in Holland, across the North Sea from Boston in Lincolnshire, they could enjoy a hope denied them in England: "freedom of religion for all men."

Some years would pass before these English husbandmen and their wives and children would become known as Pilgrims. To the autborities they were something worse than dissenters; they were Separatists, people eschewing the state churcb altogether despite brutally harsh penalties that might be imposed upon them. Brownists. That was the name by whicb they were known, a name derived from that of a leading Separatist of the 1580s, Rev. Robert Browne, and conceived in derision by their critics.

According to Bradford's account, when it became known that these religious rebels believed that they should make their own covenant with God, should reject the "courts, canons and ceremonies" of the state church and try to live a simple, biblical life as in the time of Christ and His apostles,"they were scoffed and scorned by the profane multitude."

When he wrote of the "profane multitude," Bradford was referring to a nationwide reaction against the nonconformists. Despite that reaction — and the fact that the very name "Puritan" had originally been devised by maligners "to cast contempt" — the number of Puritans had been steadily growing. Puritans did desire to remain within the state churcb, but sought to purify its practices in ways described in the New Testament.

The Pilgrims, relatively few in number, were also Puritans. But they were extremists, who felt that they could pursue a biblical life only by separating from the state church.

Clergymen all over England whose consciences drew them toward nonconformity were being forced by their bisbops to take oaths of conformity, or else face being silenced and deprived of their religious posts.

"And poor people were so vexed with apparitors and pursuivants (officers enforcing conformity) and commissary (cburch) courts, as truly their affliction was not small. Which, notwitbstanding, they bore sundry years with much patience. . . ."

Early Brownists, in the days of Queen Elizabeth, bad seen many of their clergy hanged — martyred for their conscientious refusal to conform.

For the later Brownists of Scrooby, the most perilous times came about a year before they resolved on emigration, when they began "exercising the worship of God amongst themselves, notwithstanding all the diligence and malice of their adversaries. . . ."

Bradford told how "they could not long continue in any peaceable condition, but were hunted and persecuted on every side, so as their former afflictions were but as flea-bitings in comparison of those whicb now came upon them.

"For some were taken and clapped up in prison, others had their houses beset and watched night and day, and hardly escaped their [pursuers'] hands; and tbe most were fain to flee and leave their bouses and habitations, and the means of their livelihood."

With these Brownists, and serving as their cbosen pastor and teacher, respectively, were two clergymen whose nonconformity had deprived them of their livings. One was Rev. Richard Clyfton from the neighboring hamlet of Babworth; the other, Rev. John Robinson from Norwich, the center of Puritanism in East Anglia.

For the Brownists of Scrooby the most threatening development of all in the months before they departed was that punitive legal action was in progress against the mainstay of their group, the man most responsible for their religious inspiration and fellowship, the man who made his purse cheerfully available even though it was "sometimes above his ability," the foremost citizen of Scrooby, William Brewster — a man who would later become a principal founder of New England.

Brewsters had lived in this part of England for many generations. William Brewster was probably born in or near Scrooby in 1566, although the customary parisb records that might verify this are simply not to be found.

As was true of his father, also named William, Brewster's financial position and importance were solidly based on his being in the employ of the very highest authorities in the realm, the arcbbishop of York and the crown itself, Elizabeth I and later James I.

The archbishop of York had named Brewster senior his receiver and bailiff for life in Scrooby. This provided him with the finest residence for miles around: Scrooby Manor. An occasional residence of the archbishop and host to many members of the clergy, Scrooby Manor had sheltered royalty of the realm on many resplendent occasions. Througbout the area of Scrooby were the farms of tenants and yeomen to whom Brewster was rent-

COURTESY OF HER MAJESTY ELIZABETH II

KING JAMES I REQUIRED ALL HIS SUBJECTS TO CONFORM TO STATE RELIGION OR ELSE LEAVE COUNTRY.

COURTESY OF HER MAJESTY ELIZABETH II

ELIZABETH I, WHO BECAME QUEEN OF ENGLAND IN 1558, SENT MANY EARLY BROWNISTS TO GALLOWS.

gatherer and manorial magistrate.

The Great North Road, 350 miles from London to Edinburgh, then ran directly through Scrooby. Here was located the twelfth station along the royal post route between the two capitals. And Brewster earned his second income by serving as its postmaster — a direct agent of the king and Privy Council. Most of the messages sent were government dispatches and Brewster had to be prepared at all times to see royal couriers speedily on their way. Moreover, the postmaster also maintained an inn within the manor to provide for the personal needs of official travelers.

The employment by crown and archbishop brought the Brewsters substantial advantages. Young Brewster, when 15 years of age, traveled through Sherwood Forest to Cambridge University, about 100 miles away, and entered Peterhouse College. He was a pensioner, which meant he could afford to pay for his lodgings, keep and education.

By 1580, Cambridge was already the main British center of nonconformist, Puritan thinking. Of the men then at the university, a number would later be imprisoned, exiled, or martyred on the scaffold for following their religious convictions. Young Brewster, a studious, serious youth, learned to speak Latin and understood some Greek. At Peterhouse, Bible clerks read Scripture aloud during meals.

Like many sons of the gentry whose economic futures were secure, Brewster left the university before graduation, and in 1583 went to the center of the realm, London, to join the staff and household of a man who would shortly become one of the highest officials in England, William Davison. Bradford called Davison "religious and godly." Davison was a skilled diplomat — one of the best serving the ever-devious queen — and he also was a Puritan.

Davison handled missions of the highest importance. He traveled to Scotland to block its alliance with France. He went often to the Low Countries during Queen Elizabeth's on-again-off-again effort to help the Dutch in their long, uphill war of liberation against Spain.

On an emergency mission to Holland in 1586, after Spain had overwhelmed the Low Country stronghold of Antwerp and had imperiled the Dutch cities to the north, Davison went to Leyden to arrange to provide an English army for the Dutch. In return the Dutch pawned three of their towns to pinch-penny Queen Elizabeth "as gages (security) for her expenses."

Brewster, then 20 years old, accompanied his mentor and for the first time saw the city of Leyden, located a few miles from The Hague. Leyden would in later years become the chief haven for the Pilgrims during their stay in Holland. The city was already famous for withstanding a long Spanish siege and, as a reward, being chosen by the great Dutch liberator, William the Silent, as the site of a celebrated university — an institution that would one day help the Pilgrims resist the persecutions of James I.

MAP BY DEBORAH PERUGI

MAP SHOWS HOW PILGRIMS FLED, FIRST TO AREA NEAR BOSTON, WHERE THEY WERE BETRAYED, AND LATER TO IMMINGHAM CREEK, WHERE MANY BEGAN TRIP TO HOLLAND.

So trusted was Brewster that Davison gave him the care of the keys to the three so-called "cautionary" Dutch towns that were in pledge to Queen Elizabeth. Brewster, said Bradford, slept with the keys "under his pillow."

After Davison, his skills recognized by the queen, had been elevated to the Privy Council and the exalted office of secretary of state, his public career was wrecked by the duplicity of the queen. She made him a scapegoat for her ordering, in 1587, the beheading of her second cousin and closest blood relative, Mary Queen of Scots. She sent letters to Mary's son James, then sitting on the throne of Scotland as James VI, telling him that the execution was a "lamentable accident . . . I had not so much as a thought of."

The principal culprit in Mary's death, the queen suggested, was Davison. To support her royal pretense, Queen Elizabeth, lacing her words with her invariable rough oaths, ordered Davison imprisoned in the Tower of London. The queen even had the Star Chamber — the notorious royal judicial body — impose a ruinous fine of 10,000 pounds on him.

For two years, while Davison was unjustly confined to the tower, Brewster stayed near, and according to Bradford did the ailing Davison "many faithful offices of service in the times of his troubles."

When Brewster senior became ill in 1589, his son returned to Scrooby Manor to assume his father's manorial and postal duties. The following year Brewster senior died.

In the heart of Scrooby, a short way from Scrooby Manor, still stands the Anglican parish church, St. Wilfred's, with its beautiful spire, much as in Brewster's day. He was a communicant there. And soon after his return to Scrooby he was married there as well.

"He did much good in the country," said Bradford, "in promoting and furthering religion, not only by his practice and example . . . but by procuring good preachers to the places thereabout and drawing on of others to assist and help forward in such a work."

BREWSTER STARTED INTRODUCING OUTSIDE preachers to Scrooby and the neighboring hamlets — a widespread Puritan practice. The queen and her bishops were inflexibly set against preaching. Yet Brewster, said Bradford, for many years "walked according to the light he saw till the Lord revealed further unto him."

Bradford referred here to a revelation that would come in time to all Separatists and would convince them that remaining in the state church could endanger their souls, meaning that they must form a separate church. After his return to Scrooby, that moment came to Brewster.

He was, said Bradford, "a special stay and help unto them . . . after they were joined together in communion." These Brownists of Scrooby, these Pilgrims, "made a covenant together," added Bradford — who, though hailing from Austerfield 2½ miles north of Scrooby, was one of them.

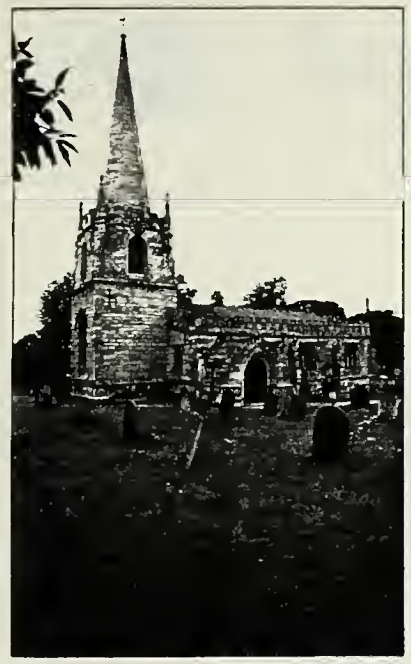
"They ordinarily met at his (Brewster's) house on the Lord's Day, which was a manor of the bishop's, and with great love he entertained them when they came, making provision for them to his great charge (expense) and continued to do so whilst they could stay in England. And when they came to remove out of the country he was one of the first in all adventures, and forwardest in any charge."

The gathering menace of the ecclesiastical court (the bishops' High Court of Commission), already ordering arrests, was not the Pilgrims' only imminent danger.

On Sept. 30, 1607, Brewster's postmastership was terminated when he suddenly resigned and a successor was named. The crown also had clearly become aware of Brewster's persistent nonconformist activities.

Escaping to Holland confronted the Pilgrims with difficulties that deeply troubled but did not dismay these resolute souls.

"Though they could not stay," said Bradford, "yet were they not suffered to go; but the ports and havens were shut against them, so as they were fain to seek secret means of conveyance,



and to bribe and fee (pay) the mariners, and give extraordinary rates for their passages." Thus they became a chapter in the pathetic annals of humankind's cruelty to refugees whose consciences force them to differ.

King James would have them out of his kingdom. But to leave required permits, and to seek permits meant self-incrimination. Penalties could be severe, and England then swarmed with spies and informers eager for the bounty available for turning nonconforming neighbors in, whether to the bishops' High Court of Commission for Ecclesiastical Causes or to the Privy Council.

There was also the problem that Holland was still in a state of war with Spain. And these religious refugees had another profound concern, thus described by Bradford:

"To go into a country they knew not but by hearsay, where they must learn a new language and get their livings they knew not how, it being a dear (expensive) place and subject to the miseries of war, it was by many thought an adventure almost desperate, a case intolerable and a misery worse than death."

THERE IS MUCH ABOUT THE FLIGHT FROM Scrooby we do not know. Precisely how many Pilgrims there were (most likely fewer than 100), when they left, and how they got to the east coast port of Boston, 65 miles to the southeast of Scrooby, Bradford left untold. Nor did he record the date of that "certain day" when they were to meet the shipmaster and board his vessel, though he did say the rendezvous was after dark.

The date Brewster gave up his postmastership may well have coincided with his completing arrangements for the ship to meet them at Boston. The "certain day" would then have been in October. By then they would had to have disposed of all belongings save those that could be carried — a constraint made more poignant by the fact that some were transporting babies. Among these was Brewster's wife, Mary, who carried their third child, a girl strangely — or revealingly — named Fear.

They probably went, as they did to their secret services in the chapel at Scrooby Manor, in small groups, inconspicuously, with no ringing of bells. Wheeled vehicles were uncommon; most of the roads between villages were little better than bridle paths. This was true even of large stretches of the Great North Road. To cross streams meant wading; bridges in rural areas were few.

Thirty miles southeast of Scrooby, in the direction of Boston, lies Lincoln, a shire town (county seat) renowned for its cathedral, which is one of England's largest and was built by William the Conqueror. If they had boats, the Pilgrims might well have gone from Lincoln down the Witham River to the remote creek below Boston where they were to board their hired ship. But whether by boat or afoot, they finally reached the creek on the Witham, in an area of flat fenlands that offered views of great expanses of sky — an area very like the Dutch coastland on the opposite side of the North Sea.

The surprise outcome of the Pilgrims' herculean attempt to flee has been recounted by Bradford. Recalling what the villainous English shipmaster did after subjecting them to "long waiting and large expenses," Bradford wrote:

"When he had them and their goods aboard, he betrayed them, having before hand complotted with the searchers and other officers so to do, who took them, and put them into open boats, and there rifled and ransacked them, searching to their shirts for money, yea even the women further than became modesty; and then carried them back into the town and made them a spectacle and wonder to the multitude which came flocking on all sides to behold them."

After they had been "rifled and stripped of their money, books and much other goods" by the catchpoll officers they were presented to the local magistrates, and messengers were sent to London to inform the lords of the Privy Council. Then the Pilgrims "were committed to ward" — that is, placed under guard.

A few steps east of Boston's marketplace is the old Guildhall, or town hall. The cells in its basement were where some of the Pilgrims were held. The cells were too few for this "large company," however, so most of the Pilgrims had to be placed in houses around the town.

A few steps on the opposite side of the marketplace, facing a bank of the Witham, is St. Botolph's Church, one of the largest parish churches in England. Its 272-foot tower — "the Stump" to local residents — can be seen in these lowlands for miles around as well as from far out on the North Sea. This church would a few years later be the scene of the Puritan preaching and influence of Rev. John Cotton, until he was forced to flee to the New World, where he would become the "Patriarch of Massachusetts."

The spirit of Puritanism, already growing among the parishioners of St. Botolph's Church, would be prodigiously helpful in the plight now confronting these unfortunate Pilgrims.

ST. WILFRED'S CHURCH (TOP LEFT) STILL STANDS IN SCROOBY, APPEARING MUCH AS IT DID IN BREWSTER'S DAY.

BUTTERY (ABOVE) IS WHERE BREWSTER ATE WHILE HE WAS ATTENDING PETERHOUSE COLLEGE AT CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY.

MONUMENT ON BANKS OF SCOTIA CREEK NEAR BOSTON, ENGLAND, RECALLS PILGRIMS' THWARTED FLIGHT.

CHAPTER

· II ·

King James' harsh crusade against dissent

Religious nonconformity–one result of the Bible's becoming available in English–angers a succession of British monarchs.

Had King James I, when he came from his Scottish kingdom to assume the British crown, fulfilled the ardent expectations of religious reformers in his new kingdom, the Pilgrims — and eventually the Puritans — would not have felt obliged to flee from once "Merry Olde England."

The king had been reared in the reform Presbyterian faith of Scotland, a church governed by its elders and synod and not by a hierarchy of archbishops and bishops.

Knowing that, the Pilgrims and Puritans felt a surge of hope that, after his arrival, English subjects would soon be able to live the way that they believed the Bible instructed them to live.

In Holland, the era of religious freedom had already arrived — a fact that must have been known to Brewster despite his youthfulness when he traveled there on diplomatic duties.

It was in 1576, just a decade before Brewster's trip, that William the Silent, "Father of the Dutch Republic," while leading the long struggle against both the tyranny of Philip II of Spain and the practices of the Spanish Inquisition, got the embattled provinces of Holland to proclaim religious toleration.

But King James, who believed that he ruled his kingdoms by "divine right," was emphatically no disciple of toleration.

His concept of rule by divine right would be the curse of the Stuart kings. His inflexible adherence to autocracy above obedience to law — and the fact that he impressed his position's validity upon his royal descendants — would twice plunge the nation into civil war, lead his only surviving son to execution on the block and force his last grandson to flee the country.

As James was on his way from Scotland to London in 1603, he was presented with the Millenary Petition — so named because it was purportedly signed by 1000 Puritan clergy, though the actual number was somewhat less. The petition asked that he, as head of the English state church, institute reforms, end abuses by the bishops, and bring doctrine, discipline, ritual and clerical attire into conformity with the Bible. Thus did these dissident clergy seek to win James' attention before he came under the influence of the church hierarchy in London.

The following January, the king presided at the famous conference of Hampton Court. But he foreordained the outcome by including among the conferees the archbishop of Canterbury, several bishops, deans, archdeacons and the royal chaplain — 18 in all dedicated to hierarchy — and only four Puritan clergymen.

King James' Presbyterian upbringing was thus of no help to the Puritan reformers. "A Scottish presbytery (church ruling body)," the king told them, "agreeth with a monarchy as God and the Devil. Then Jack and Tom, Will and Dick, shall meet, and at their pleasures censure me and my Council and all our proceedings." And often, in his drooling manner, he would spout his long-standing philosophy that the hierarchy was the best possible bulwark for the crown, saying: "No bishop, no king."

In the presence of the king the members of the hierarchy acted in a most fawning manner. The archbishop assured him that "His Majesty spake by the special assistance of God's spirit." The bishop of London, down on his knees before the sovereign, said that "his heart melted within him with joy." No hope survived in any of this for the Puritan conferees. Lest there be any uncertainty, King James, in a final dismissal of their appeal to end abuses, announced:

"I will have one doctrine and one discipline, one religion in substance and ceremony.... If this be all that they have to say, I shall make them conform themselves, or I will harry them out of the land, or else do worse. If any would not be quiet, and show his obedience, he were worthy to be hanged."

The king, a pedantic character who fancied his own pompous commentaries on matters of religious dispute, did accede to one Puritan request. Rev. John Rainolds, an expert on the Greek and Hebrew tongues and president of Corpus Christi College at Cambridge, asked King James to approve preparation of a new translation of the Bible. The following year Rev. Rainolds was named translator. And by 1611, having worked with the assistance of many other scholars, Rev. Rainolds was able to give to the world one of the greatest literary monuments of the age of Shakespeare, a new Bible. It was named — only because of its being dedicated to the sovereign — the King James Bible.

The king's insistence at the Hampton Court conference on strictly enforcing religious conformity reflected the same course pursued by his Tudor predecessors when confronted with the beginning of the Protestant Reformation.

The Reformation had begun in 1517, when a former Augustine monk named Martin Luther nailed to a church door at Wittenberg, in Saxony, his 95 theses denouncing ecclesiastical abuses — a deed for which he was excommunicated by the great Renaissance Pope, Leo X.

The concern with religious matters was fully evident in Henry VIII, who denounced Luther so consummately that the Pope honored the young king as "Defender of the Faith."

The king was truly opposed to nonconformity — by anyone other than himself. He held steadfast in that position when, in a turnabout in the year 1535, he had Parliament proclaim him instead of the Pope supreme head of the English church. The step followed the Pope's refusal to recognize King Henry's divorce from his Spanish queen, Katherine — a divorce the monarch sought so as to marry one of the queen's young maids of honor, Anne Boleyn.

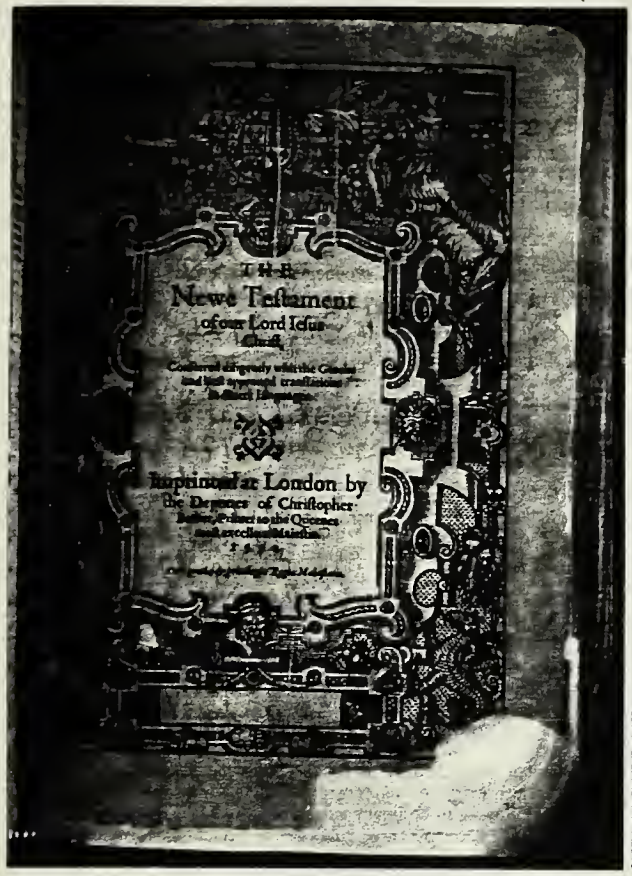
This impasse brought the Reformation to England. Yet unlike the Reformation in the rest of western Europe — where there were fundamental changes in church ritual and dogma, which in turn led to devastating wars between the faiths — King Henry's action was more political and nationalistic than religious. Aside from eliminating the authority of the Pope the king left the English church pretty much alone, limiting his actions against it to the plundering of monasteries for the benefit of his own and his supporters' purses.

Ironically, the king made an unintended contribution to the growth of nonconformity when, thinking to gain popular support, he ordered English translations of the Bible placed in every church. To the Pilgrims, the Bible — or Scripture, as they called it — was the cornerstone of theology, the "Word of God."

It was this religious conviction that provided their overwhelming motivation to emigrate to the New World — a dedication that would eventually attract others to New England, thus assuring its enduring colonization.

COURTESY OF AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY

KING JAMES IS SHOWN ACCEPTING NEW BIBLE THAT HE HAD AUTHORIZED AT HAMPTON COURT IN 1604, WHEN HE ALSO THREATENED TO HOUND ALL DISSENTERS OUT OF KINGDOM.



PILGRIM HALL PLYMOUTH MASS

BOSTON ATHENAEUM

TITLE PAGE OF WILLIAM BRADFORD'S BIBLE.

JOHN WYCLIFFE, TRANSLATOR OF BIBLE. HIS BODY WAS EXHUMED AND BURNED AS A SIGN OF ROYAL DISFAVOR FOR HIS HAVING DONE ENGLISH TRANSLATION, WHICH WAS COMPLETED LATE IN FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

TO UNDERSTAND THE PILGRIMS' DEDICATION requires some knowledge of the painful history of how the Bible — printed in their own English tongue — finally became available to them; and of how the Reformation developed in England during the reigns of the Tudor monarchs who immediately preceded James I.

Not until shortly before the Pilgrims emerged on history's stage had the Bible been available in any language other than the Latin of the Vulgate, as translated by St. Jerome in the fourth century. The Vulgate powerfully helped to shape civilization for centuries and was the foremost book of the Middle Ages, when Latin was still the tongue of the educated classes.

As soon as the Vulgate was translated into European languages, however, it became accessible to a greater number of people. This was a development that many civil and ecclesiastical authorities — including Henry VIII in his later years — sought to suppress. Thus the lot of the Bible's translators was a far-from-peaceful one. They faced terrifying punishments: torture, the rack, denunciation as heretics, excommunication, mutilation, and burning at the stake.

Punishment pursued them even in death. The first complete English translation of the Bible was made late in the fourteenth century by John Wycliffe, Oxford scholar and royal chaplain. After he died, his body was ordered exhumed and burned, with his ashes being cast into a river. And Wycliffe's translation, completed before the appearance of the printing press, was only in manuscript; as a consequence, except through the preaching of his followers, it reached comparatively few souls.

William Tyndale, who did a translation in the early part of Henry VIII's reign, had to flee London for the Continent because there was "no place in all England" safe for this Oxford scholar-reformer. He joined Luther at Wittenberg. When he published his English translation of the Bible in 1525 and sent it back to England, many copies (available because printing had arrived by then) were seized and burned. Subsequently, Henry VIII's agents tracked Tyndale down. He was tried for heresy and sent to jail, where he was strangled. His body was burned.

The Bible that Henry VIII later had distributed was called the "Great Bible" or the "Chain Bible," the latter because copies were secured by chains. Its translator, Miles Coverdale, had gone abroad and helped Tyndale with his work. The first copies of the Coverdale Bible cautiously bore neither the name of the printer nor the place of printing, but did include, diplomatically, a dedication to Henry VIII. In later years Coverdale, who did not escape imprisonment either, helped to prepare the Geneva Bible of 1560, the Pilgrims' favorite.

Puritanical reformers, with the Bible's depiction of church life in the days of the apostles as their model, were active in Henry VIII's reign. But it was during the reigns of King Henry's children — Edward, Mary and Elizabeth — that the Puritan faith began to attract significant numbers of adherents and to assume a growing role in the national life of England.

The reigns of King Edward and Queen Mary were short; but they were marked by episodes of religious persecution so shocking, as William Bradford observed, that the persecution of ancient times "by the heathen and their emperors was not greater than [that] of the Christians one against other. . . ."

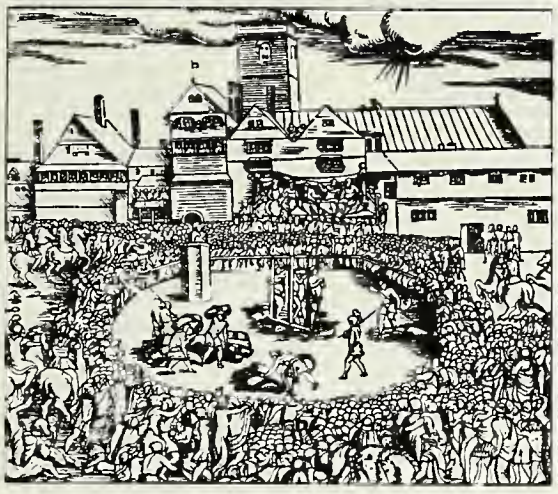
Edward VI, only 10 years old when he succeeded his father in 1547, died at age 16 without ever actually having ruled the country. During King Edward's reign, however, his archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer — source of the suggestion that Henry VIII renounce the Pope in order to legitimize his divorce — strongly advanced the Reformation.

Mary I, daughter of Henry VIII's divorced first wife and herself a Catholic, reasserted the supremacy of the Pope. She also married Europe's foremost supporter of the papacy, Philip II of

DISSIDENT CHRISTIANS ARE DEPICTED BEING APPREHENDED AND BROUGHT BEFORE AUTHORITIES DURING TUDOR TIMES.

HOUGHTON LIBRARY, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

RELIGIOUS DISSENTERS ARE SHOWN BEING MARTYRED AT STAKE IN LONDON'S SMITHFIELD DURING PERSECUTIONS UNDER HENRY VIII.



HOUGHTON LIBRARY, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

WILLIAM THE SILENT, WHOSE DECLARATIONS OF RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE WERE APPROVED BY HOLLAND'S PROVINCES IN 1576. HE ALSO FOUNDED LEYDEN UNIVERSITY.

LEYDEN UNIVERSITY

Spain, and sent English troops to fight in his wars against France.

During Queen Mary's imposition of the Counter Reformation in England, some of the leading reformers of King Edward's reign were charged with heresy, and many fires were kindled at the stake in Oxford.

Thus, in the fall of 1555 two former royal chaplains and bishops, Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley, were burned at the same time, with Latimer calmly telling Ridley, "We shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England as I trust shall never be put out." At the beginning of the next year the Puritan Bishop John Hooper and the displaced Archbishop Cranmer, both adjudged heretics, followed one another into the flames at Oxford, swelling the gruesome toll recorded in John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs.*

Meanwhile, hundreds of reform clergy were expelled from their posts, or fled to the Reformation centers of Europe, especially to Geneva, where their Puritanism was intensified by the preaching and teaching of the French reformer John Calvin.

Queen Mary became sickly and in 1558 she died, after little more than five years on the throne. Her half-sister Elizabeth's accession brought the Puritan reformers back to England. But she had a surprise — an unhappy surprise — in store for them.

As the offspring of Henry VIII's marriage to Anne Boleyn following his dispute with Rome, Queen Elizabeth did have herself made supreme head of the state church. But she had a personal taste for images, ceremonies and vestments spurned by the Puritans as not part of Scripture. Furthermore, she insisted on conformity and on the use of a *Book of Common Prayer.* The High Court of Commission was created by the queen as an instrument through which the bishops could enforce her royal will.

As Queen Elizabeth's reign progressed her demands for uniformity grew. Fires were kindled again for heretics at the Smithfield marketplace just outside the old walls of London. The horrors of prison and banishment accompanied the ghastly work of stake and gibbet. Absence from the state church could be punished by a devastating fine. Printing, still a rudimentary process, was muzzled — restricted to London and the university towns of Oxford and Cambridge. Moreover, nothing could be published without approval from the archbishop of Canterbury or the bishop of London.

Preaching, called "prophesying" in those days, was a hallmark of the Puritan service. It was also anathema to Queen Elizabeth. She made this emphatically clear on an Ash Wednesday visit to London's St. Paul's Cathedral. The dean turned to talking against images. Suddenly he heard a raised voice saying, "Leave that alone!" Uncertain of the source, the dean resumed until he heard the queen, absolute ruler of the realm, angrily declare to him:

"To your text! Mr. Dean, to your text! Leave that; we have heard enough of that. To your subject!" And she thereupon left the cathedral.

THE QUEEN DID FACE SOMETHING MORE VITAL to her than enforcing conformity: the aggression of Spain's Philip II. He tried to win Queen Elizabeth's hand and, failing, married a French princess. Next he laid claim to Portugal. After he assumed that throne there were only two European nations between him and world domination, Holland and England.

King Philip had long fought the Dutch. His commander in Holland, the duke of Alba, once boasted of executing 18,600 Dutch "heretics and traitors." Queen Elizabeth, though in a half-hearted way because she despised rebellious subjects, had helped the Dutch wage their battle for freedom against Philip. Thus, to the Spanish king, getting control of England seemed essential if the Dutch were to be finally subdued.

In 1585, some three years before he sent his formidable armada to attack England, the Spanish king launched a war of nerves. He began seizing all English sailors and ships in his ports. Then, rumors reached England that the world's leading power was preparing an invincible fleet.

Queen Elizabeth, aware of the rumors, had ordered the execution of Mary Queen of Scots because Mary had allegedly been conspiring to aid King Philip in his plans to invade England, and assassinate its queen. The threats against Elizabeth could have been real. King Philip had already proven his willingness to resort to assassination. In 1581, he publicly offered ennoblement and a huge bounty to anyone who would rid him of William the Silent, leader of the Dutch fight for freedom. Three years later, William was murdered in his palace-stronghold at Delft by the king's agent. And indeed, the king was preparing a long list of English statesmen to be hanged after his conquest of England.

But King Philip's plans for world conquest, which eventually impoverished Spain, went awry.

In 1588, the mighty Spanish Armada — with its 130 ships, many of them towering fortresses, the biggest then on the seven seas, and its thousands of sailors and soldiers — was put to rout in the English Channel. It was as much a victim of a fierce gale and King Philip's mismanagement as of British pluck and fast maneuvering by the British seadogs.

England expressed its jubilation in an outburst of enthusiasms: Shakespeare's theater, widespread exploration, empire-building in the New World, seafarers turned adventurers bringing riches to the British Isles.

The lives of the Pilgrims who would be fleeing from Scrooby less than two decades later were also heavily influenced by Queen Elizabeth's spectacular victory. For the queen, publicly idolized and feeling more secure on the throne, was now more resolute than ever in her efforts to enforce religious conformity.

Thus the Pilgrims, to whom the Bible was the very cornerstone of theology, inherited a doleful legacy of civil and ecclesiastical repression.

Defying the threat of stake and scaffold

Despite the terrifying dangers facing many, and the martyrdom of some, England's religious rebels insist on following the dictates of conscience.

CHAPTER

· III ·

Citation before the bishops' Court of High Commission on Dec. 1, 1607, against William Brewster, at a time when the Pilgrims were trying to flee to Holland, charged him with being "disobedient in matters of religion" and "a Brownist" — also known as a Barrowist or Separatist.

How did it happen that such accusations arose against a prominent resident of a remote, sparsely settled farming community of north-central England? And what were the circumstances surrounding these charges — circumstances so terrifying that they would impel plain-living, peaceful farm folk to break with their past and seek an uncertain future in a foreign land?

In later years Bradford, instructing young Pilgrims about their forebears' history, said that when the Pilgrims were trying to flee Scrooby, they knew "certainly of six that were publicly executed besides such as died in prisons."

Bradford was referring to the dreadful and tragic way the Brownist dissenters were treated during Queen Elizabeth's drive to enforce conformity.

The queen's instinctive aversion to all dissent makes it readily understandable that she, as supreme head of both church and state, would be angered by the Brownists' religious convictions. They believed the Bible taught that civil authority possessed no authority over religion. This was the incipient doctrine of separation of church and state, and to Queen Elizabeth it constituted sedition tantamount to rebellion.

The Brownist movement was the precursor of the Congregational Church that later developed in early colonial New England. Its beginnings in England were marked by pain and persecution, as illustrated by what happened, first in the London area and later in the Scrooby area, to those extreme Puritans who espoused the teachings of Rev. Robert Browne.

Rev. Browne was a member of a wealthy Midlands family. His father was a knight, and he was related to Queen Elizabeth's closest advisor, Lord Burghley. The clergyman was trained at Cambridge, served as chaplain to the duke of Norfolk and taught in Southwark, on the south bank of the river Thames. Later, he returned to Cambridge to spend more time in religious study.

In 1580, Rev. Browne took up his reformist ministry at Norwich, the shire town of Norfolk County and center of Puritan belief. In fact, Norwich — with its large population of Dutch refugees, come there to escape the persecution of Spain's Philip II — was second only to London as a growing Puritan stronghold. Rev. Browne had been attracted to Norwich because he had heard that the people there were "very forward" in religion. However, this did not spare him the official wrath of the bishop of the area. The clergyman was jailed a few times for his nonconformity.

In 1582, at 32 years of age, he fled with his flock across the North Sea to tolerant and friendly Middelburg in Zeeland, the part of Holland that is nearest to England's East Anglia.

There, be did something he had been unable to do in England: He published five books defining his faith and justifying separation from England's state church. "Magistrates," he postulated, "have no ecclesiastical authority." True Christians, he said, must separate themselves from a state church that fails to exclude the irreligious. Once separated, he believed, they would achieve a "genuine and perfect church" when they "united by a public covenant with each other and with God." Church authority, he maintained, rests on its members' interpretation of the Bible.

After two years in Zeeland, Rev. Browne's congregation fell apart, victim of a lack of organization and its members' criticisms of one another. The clergyman departed for Scotland.

A few years later, on his return to England, Rev. Browne recanted. (His recantation was the reason the title "Brownist" carried an extra measure of opprobrium.) He was thereupon readmitted to the state church and given a parish.

But his recantation was far from the end of Brownism. Indeed, the bishops soon provided the Brownist cause with a broad popular appeal by creating martyrs.

These included the six cited by Bradford — some of whom had studied with Brewster at Cambridge — whose public executions were so well known to the Pilgrims, as well as others who died in the prisons of that harsh era.

That the Pilgrims were so keenly aware of the savage behavior of the authorities strongly underscores how unshakable was their resolution to ignore threatened punishment and persist in preparations to flee from England.

The first two martyrs were common men, much like the Pilgrims.

In the heart of East Anglia is Bury St. Edmunds. There, the two men — a shoemaker named John Copping and a tailor named Elias Thacker — had endured seven years of being in and out of prison for their nonconformity. Finally, after they had been found guilty of "dispersing of Browne's books" in England, the books were burned in front of the scaffold and the men were hanged.

The hangings represented an irony. They were carried out close by the old abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, where the barons of England drew up the petition for freedoms that led to the Magna Charta.

The bishops did not get all of Rev. Browne's books. But they did get the Star Chamber to buttress their control of printing by establishing, with still more dreadful penalties, new regulations governing the licensing of presses and printing. This in turn helped the bishops take action against two more nonconformists, both of them noted men — Henry Barrowe, a lawyer of London's Gray's Inn, and Rev. John Greenwood.

Barrowe, who had been a libertine as a youth, was a familiar figure at Queen Elizabeth's court. Then in 1586, possibly in his capacity as a lawyer, he visited Rev. Greenwood at the Clink Prison in Southwark, and found himself suddenly drawn to the clergyman's nonconformist teachings.

The visit brought the lawyer's prompt arrest and subsequent imprisonment with Rev. Greenwood, where the two discussed Rev. Browne's books. They also took to putting their views on scraps of paper, which were smuggled to Holland for printing.

Barrowe developed a new idea for establishing stability within church organizations — an achievement that had eluded Rev. Browne. Saying that he had found "sound proof [of his idea's acceptability] . . . in the Holy Scriptures," Barrowe advocated that nonconformist church pastors be guided by elders.

In addition, the lawyer — who did much more secret writing

MEMORIAL TO MARTYRS AND SEPARATIST LEADERS AT PILGRIM FATHERS' MEMORIAL CHURCH, LOCATED IN SOUTHWARK, LONDON.

PILGRIMS ARE DEPICTED LEAVING ALL SAINTS CHURCH, BABWORTH, TO TAKE "PILGRIM PATH" BACK TO SCROOBY

than Rev. Greenwood — may have had a part in preparing seven pamphlets attacking the hierarchy, the first of which appeared in 1588 and titillated an England already bursting with exuberance following defeat of the Spanish Armada. These were the "Martin Mar-prelate" pamphlets, ridiculing the bishops for dishonesty and irreligion. The pamphlets served to make the bishops even more relentless in their efforts to control printing.

Living in Middelburg, Holland, at this time was Rev. Francis Johnson. He was, like many other key figures in the saga of Puritanism, a graduate of, and later a tutor at Cambridge.

Rev. Johnson was pastor of an English church in Middelburg. There, to please the English ambassador, he helped to track down and burn some of the nonconformist treatises prepared in their London prison by Barrowe and Rev. Greenwood. However, Bradford's diaries tell how the clergyman withheld two of the treatises from the flames so that he could peruse them.

Reading these treatises chastened and converted Rev. Johnson, whereupon he headed back across the North Sea to visit Barrowe and Rev. Greenwood, once again jailed in London's Fleet Prison for holding illegal religious gatherings.

Not long after that — in 1592 — London's Separatist Ancient Church of Southwark was formed, with Rev. Johnson as pastor and Rev. Greenwood, momentarily free on bail, as teacher. Associated with them, despite having a price on his head, was Rev. John Penry, one of William Brewster's classmates at Cambridge.

The authorities moved swiftly. Rev. Johnson and Rev. Greenwood were arrested while conducting religious services in the Fleet street lodgings of a London haberdasher. And soon 56 members of the new church, while holding services in the woods in Islington just north of London's ancient walls, were pounced upon and thrown into one or another of London's stinking prisons: the Clink, Fleet and Newgate.

The bishops then proceeded to secure an even stronger law against nonconformists — an "Act to retain the Queen's subjects in Obedience" — a law aimed directly at the Brownists and Barrowists.

Anyone over 16 years of age who for a month failed to attend "the usual place of Common Prayer . . . to hear Divine Service," as established by her majesty's laws, said the act, or who urged nonattendance by "printing, writing or speeches," could be imprisoned without bail until he conformed. Moreover, such dissidents, if not in conformity within three months, had to leave the realm. And if they returned, they could be put to death "as in the case of felony, without benefit of clergy."

Barrowe and Rev. Greenwood were next brought into the courtroom of London's Old Bailey to answer charges of sedition under the new law. Then, without time for appeal, they were hanged.

A few weeks later Brewster's classmate, Rev. Penry, charged with printing derisive tracts, was executed on the gallows at Southwark. And in Norfolk still another nonconformist, the little known William Dennis of Thetford, was hanged.

These men, then, were the six "publicly executed" that Bradford discussed in later years while recounting the shocking peril the Pilgrims had had to face. Bradford's nephew and secretary Nathaniel Morton, in his preface to Bradford's remarks, said that the cause for which the six perished "was in effect but what our church and the churches of Christ in New England do both profess and practice."

Although the number of believers who perished in the ghastly prisons of those times must have been very large, most of Rev. Johnson's flock ultimately managed to escape to Holland's biggest community, Amsterdam. There, in 1597, they were joined by the clergyman himself, after he had spent additional years in prison and had endured futile official efforts to deport him to the New World. Thus the martyrs' Ancient Church of Southwark was re

SILVER CHALICE USED BY REV. CLYFTON, BREWSTER, BRADFORD AND OTHER PILGRIMS AT ALL SAINTS CHURCH.

newed in Amsterdam.

Holland as a possible land of refuge had recurringly been brought to the attention of the Pilgrims. It was a land already known to their leader, Brewster. And successive condemnations of Separatist martyrs during the growth of the Scrooby congregation had increasingly directed Pilgrim attention to that country across the North Sea.

At that time, the Pilgrims' pastor, Rev. Richard Clyfton, was about 54 years old; and their teacher, Rev. John Robinson, who would later gain renown as "Pastor of the Pilgrims," was 31.

Rev. Clyfton, said Bradford — in his only physical description of a Pilgrim — was a "grave and fatherly olo man . . . having a great white beard."

Like the Brownist leaders in London, Brewster and the clergymen involved in the Scrooby area had been ousted or had resigned from their earlier positions. All three had access to the illegally printed books of Rev. Browne and Barrowe; all three had been trained at Cambridge University.

Rev. Clyfton, 13 years Brewster's senior, had become rector in the hamlet of Babworth, eight miles south of Scrooby, in 1586, two years before the Spanish Armada sailed. He was, said William Bradford, "a grave and reverend preacher, who, by his pains and diligence had done much good; and, under God, had been the means of the conversion of many."

BRADFORD KNEW THIS AT FIRSTHAND. FOR Rev. Clyfton was his teacher. Bradford, as a teenager, had tramped more than 10 miles, in part along the Great North Road, to listen to him preach. These trips were from Austerfield, a hamlet just north of Scrooby where Bradford was born into a large, prosperous farm family in 1589.

Bradford was only 16 months old when his father died. His mother remarried, and then, at age 4, Bradford was committed to the care of his grandfather. By the time Bradford was 7 his grandfather and mother were both dead, and his uncles, yeomen farmers, took over his care.

When he was 11, Bradford was stricken ill. This kept him from farm chores and left ample time for this natural scholar to read the Bible. Soon he was taking those long Sunday walks along the "Pilgrim Path" to Babworth in order to hear Rev. Clyfton.

The farming folk of Austerfield for the most part attended the small, ancient, Norman-style church of St. Helena — still to be seen — where Bradford was baptized. When Bradford became convinced that he should give up attendance at the church, he was faced with "the wrath of his uncles," and "the scoff of his neighbors now turned upon him as one of the Puritans. . . ." His response shows that Bradford shared the stout resolve of the early Pilgrims:

"I am not only willing to part with everything in this world for this cause but I am also thankful that God hath given me a heart so to do; and will accept me so to suffer for him."

In time, Rev. Clyfton became one of the "good preachers" that Brewster invited to Scrooby Manor. It's uncertain when the clergyman gave up his rectorship at Babworth, but he could well have been at the manor along with the orphaned Bradford, taking part in services and discussions with Brewster, his generous host. This was some time before the fall of 1606, when the Scrooby Pilgrims "joined themselves by a covenant of the Lord . . . to walk in all His ways made known."

His own account, observed Bradford in later years, would show that this complete separation "cost them something," not just in a money sense but in their patient suffering as well.

The other dismissed clergyman joining the Scrooby covenant, Rev. John Robinson, had begun his ministry near Norwich (where Rev. Browne had preached) in 1600. In 1604, after King James' crackdown began, Rev. Robinson's nonconformity was no longer endurable to his bishop and the clergyman was dismissed. (One crushing consequence of King James' conference at Hampton Court was that some 300 clergymen all over England were either deprived of their livings, or else felt compelled to quit them for conscience' sake.)

Rev. Robinson's wife came of a well-off family in a hamlet near Gainsborough, a large community on the river Trent in Lincolnshire, some 10 miles east of Scrooby. The clergyman withdrew there from Norwich and pursued his religious studies. This search for the truth, he said, was in his "heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones."

For a time, the Scrooby nonconformists walked to Gainsborough to hear the preaching of Rev. John Smyth in the hall of Gainsborough's ancient manor — a place where Henry VIII once held court after a stay at Scrooby Manor. (Bradford, who had often heard Rev. Smyth, said that the clergyman was a "man of able gifts and a good preacher.")

While Rev. Smyth was a student at Cambridge University, he had been tutored by Rev. Francis Johnson before that nonconformist's fiery preaching led to his being forced out of the university.

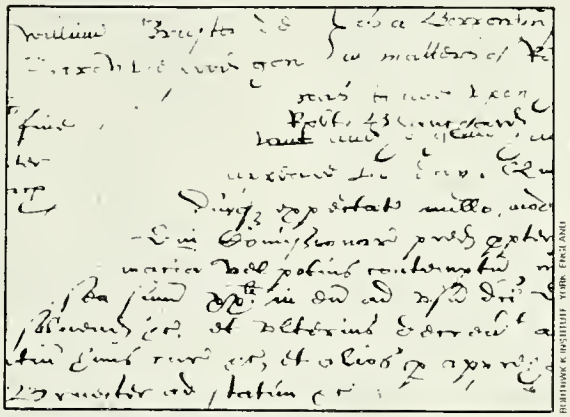
Rev. Smyth, after preaching for a time in Lincoln, was plagued by religious doubts and gave up his pulpit in the state church. Instead, he gathered a Separatist flock together for worship in the hall of the old manor in Gainsborough.

In time, the "distance of place" between Gainsborough Manor and the homes of some of the worshippers, said Bradford, led to the Gainsborough flock's splitting into "two distinct bodies." This occurred in 1606, when the Scrooby Pilgrims decided to make their own covenant.

Presently, Rev. Smyth and the remainder of his flock fled from Gainsborough to Holland and formed the second exiled English church in Amsterdam.

The Scrooby Pilgrims, with hope in England denied them, were next to flee to Holland.

REV. JOHN ROBINSON, WHO SERVED AS PASTOR TO PILGRIMS FOR MANY YEARS BUT NEVER CAME TO NEW ENGLAND, IS DEPICTED PREACHING.



CITATION AGAINST BREWSTER BY CHURCH COURT.

GREAT HALL OF FIFTEENTH-CENTURY MANOR IN GAINSBOROUGH (DECORATED FOR TWENTIETH-CENTURY EVENT) WHERE REV. SMYTH PREACHED TO PILGRIMS.

CHAPTER
• IV •

At long last, freedom in Holland

Out of jail, the Pilgrims survive a fierce storm and official abuse to reach their haven, but soon confront another problem: poverty amidst plenty.

Bradford did not mention that the Puritan leanings of the Boston magistrates aroused their compassion for the Pilgrim men, women and children confined in the coastal town after their betrayal by a devious shipmaster. But the comparative leniency of the Bostonians — many undoubtedly members of St. Botolph's Church — is certainly its own eloquent testimony.

The magistrates, said Bradford, treated the Pilgrims "courteously, and showed them what favor they could; but could not deliver (free) them till an order came from the (Privy) Council table" in London; this took some weeks. The order's moderation when it did arrive implies that the magistrates may have minimized the charges brought against the Pilgrims.

In his summation, Bradford said, "After a month's imprisonment, the greatest part were dismissed; and sent to the places from whence they came: but seven of the principals were still kept in the prison, and bound over to the assizes (court)."

The cells where the Pilgrims would have been held — still to be seen — comprised the town jail in the old Guildhall. They have heavily barred doors and are windowless. A winding flight of stone steps leads up, through a trapdoor, to the courtroom.

The name of only one of the seven imprisoned leaders has come down specifically: William Brewster. The assize inquest led to no action, and Brewster and the others were finally released.

No one knows how the Pilgrims, having been stripped of their money, were afterwards able to provide for themselves, though their friends and former neighbors must have helped.

In any case, by the winter and spring of 1608 new arrangements were being made for an escape to Holland. There was added urgency, for agents of the ecclesiastical authorities had been moving against the Pilgrims. One, the grandson of Nottinghamshire's high sheriff, had been charged, on Nov. 10, 1607, as "a very dangerous, schismatical Separatist, Brownist, and irreligious subject, holding and maintaining divers erroneous opinions." For his "unreverent, contemptuous & scandalous speeches" to the court, he was immured in the castle at York.

And on Dec. 1, 1607, William Brewster and another member of the congregation were charged with being "disobedient in matters of religion." Neither appeared in court but each was fined 20 pounds (then half a year's pay) and attachments were ordered.

Two weeks later, on Dec. 15, the court's agent "certified that he can not find them (Brewster and his co-defendant), nor understand where they are." A peek into the Guildhall's municipal cells in Boston might have given him the answer.

Once more the Pilgrims were preparing to leave Scrooby, but this time we know something of the way they went to meet the Dutch shipmaster who would take them aboard ship on the coast between Grimsby and Hull — then and now great fishing ports on either side of the Humber River, an estuary of the North Sea between Yorkshire and Lincolnshire.

The boarding place, unnamed, seemed secure, for it was in a remote location on the flat, marshy coast, "where was a large common a good way distant from any town."

The Dutch shipmaster owned his vessel. The Pilgrims who made the arrangements had chanced upon him in Hull on the northern, Yorkshire side of the Humber. "They made agreement with him, and acquainted him with their condition, hoping to find more faithfulness in him than in the former (shipmaster) of their own nation. He bade them not fear, for he would do well enough." And he did.

Scrooby is in the broad valley of the Trent River, which loops nearly 200 miles across the English Midlands. The Ryton River, a short distance north of Scrooby, joins another small waterway, the Idle River, which in turn flows into the Trent.

The Pilgrim men placed the women, children and belongings into boats on the Ryton and, on reaching the Trent, transferred them into "a small bark which they had hired." Then those men not needed to manage the bark walked 30 miles across northern Lincolnshire to the isolated "large common."

The bark sailed northward on the Trent to where Yorkshire's Ouse River comes down from the north, and together with the Trent forms the Humber River, flowing eastward to the sea. The common was on the south side of the broad estuary of the Humber where it enters the North Sea, just above Grimsby.

The tides in the estuary are fast and forceful. The passage was rough, and when the women became seasick they "prevailed on the seamen to put into a creek hard by where they lay on ground at low water."

Their arrival at what is now generally believed to have been Immingham Creek, five miles north of Grimsby, was a day early.

Next day, when the Dutch shipmaster arrived offshore, "they were fast (aground) and could not stir until about noon." Meantime the shipmaster, seeing the men "walking about the shore," decided to save time and sent in a boat to fetch them on board. He was ready to send for another boatload, said Bradford, who was among those already aboard the ship, when:

"The master espied a great company, both horse and foot, with bills (a long-handled weapon with a hooked blade) and guns and other weapons, for the country (local area) was raised against them. The Dutchman, seeing that, swore his country's oath, 'Sacrement!', and having the wind fair, weighed his anchor, hoisted sails, and away." Which was about all he could sensibly do.

Spies, bounty seekers, must have alerted the sheriff, constables and catchpolls.

The men most sought by the authorities — including Brewster and the Pilgrims' two Separatist clergymen — fled into the countryside. Bradford said that the Pilgrim men "made shift to escape before the troops could surprise them, those only staying that best might be assistant unto the women.

"Pitiful it was to see the heavy case of these poor women in this distress; what weeping and crying on every side, some for their husbands that were carried away in the ship . . . others not knowing what should become of them and their little ones; others again melted in tears, seeing their poor little ones hanging about them, crying for fear and quaking with cold."

On the ship, said Bradford, "the poor men were in great distress for their wives and children which they saw thus to be taken, and were left destitute of their helps; and themselves also, not having a cloth to shift (reclothe) them with, more than they had on their backs, and some scarce a penny about them, all they had being aboard the bark.

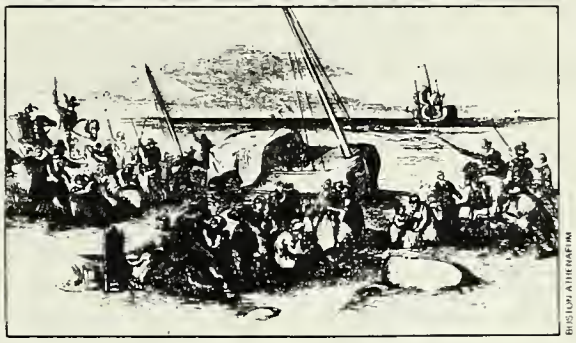
"It drew tears from their eyes, and anything they had they

PILGRIMS' ESCAPE TO HOLLAND IN 1608 FROM IMMINGHAM CREEK NEAR GRIMSBY, ENGLAND, IS MEMORIALIZED ON MARKER. THEY ARE BELIEVED TO HAVE MET DUTCH SHIPMASTER HERE.

MAP BY DEBORAH PEDGO

ARCHIVES AMSTERDAM

AMSTERDAM GATEWAY, WHICH LED TO LEYDEN IN EARLY 1600s.



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MAP SHOWS PILGRIMS' ARRIVAL ROUTE, PAST TEXEL ISLAND AND ON TO AMSTERDAM. YEARS LATER, PILGRIMS LEFT LEYDEN BY WAY OF RIVER SCHIE, AND SAILED FROM DELFTSHAVEN TO ENGLAND.

SCENE AT IMMINGHAM CREEK WHEN OFFICIALS ARRESTED SEVERAL PILGRIMS, DISRUPTING FLIGHT TO HOLLAND.

CELLS IN GUILDHALL, BOSTON, ENGLAND, WHERE PILGRIMS WERE CONFINED. STEPS UP TO COURTROOM THROUGH A TRAPDOOR ARE AT RIGHT.

would have given to have been ashore again, but all in vain, there was no remedy, they must thus sadly part."

Normally, it is about 200 miles across the North Sea to the narrow entrance past Texel Island into the old Zuider Zee (South Sea); and thence some 50 miles south down this great gulf to Amsterdam — which at that time, despite the war with mighty Spain, was the thriving commercial heart of the most advanced and prosperous nation in Europe. But that is not how the trip to Holland went for these profoundly distressed men.

En route, there arose "a fearful storm at sea" and the ship was driven near the coast of Norway 400 miles to the north. The passage consumed two weeks and more, and half of that time the Pilgrims "neither saw sun, moon nor stars . . . the mariners themselves often despairing of life, and once with shrieks and cries gave over all, as if the ship had been foundered in the sea and they sinking without recovery.

"When the water ran into their mouths and ears and the mariners cried out, 'We sink, we sink!' they (the Pilgrims) cried, if not with miraculous, yet with a great height or degree of divine faith, 'Yet Lord Thou canst save! Yet Lord Thou canst save!' with such other expressions as I will forbear.

"Upon which the ship did not only recover, but shortly after the violence of the storm began to abate, and the Lord filled their afflicted minds with such comforts as everyone cannot understand, and in the end brought them to their desired haven, where the people came flocking, admiring their deliverance; the storm having been so long and sore, in which much hurt had been done, as the master's friends related unto him in their congratulations."

COURTROOM SCENE DEPICTED ON WALL OF GUILDHALL IN BOSTON, ENGLAND, SHOWS ROOM AS IT MAY HAVE LOOKED DURING PILGRIM ERA.

MEANTIME, WHAT HAPPENED TO THE WOMEN and children arrested at the creek?

"They were," said Bradford, "hurried from one place to another and from one justice [of the peace] to another, till in the end they (the authorities) knew not what to do with them; for to imprison so many women and innocent children for no other cause but that they must go with their husbands, seemed to be unreasonable and all would cry out of them.

"And to send them home again was as difficult; for they alleged, as the truth was, they had no homes to go to, for they had either sold or otherwise disposed of their houses and livings.

"After they had been thus turmoiled a good while and conveyed from one constable to another, they (the authorities) were glad to be rid of them in the end upon any terms, for all were wearied and tired with them. Though in the meantime they, poor souls, endured misery enough; and thus in the end necessity forced a way for them. . . .

"And in the end, notwithstanding all these storms of opposition, they all gat over at length, some at one time and some at another, and some in one place and some in another, and met together again according to their desires, with no small rejoicing."

Bradford said there was a special "fruit" from the "troubles which they endured and underwent in these their wanderings and travels both at land and sea." For in "eminent places" — Boston, Hull, Grimshy — "their cause became famous" because of their "godly carriage and Christian behavior" and they "greatly animated others" to follow their example. There could have been no greater delight to the Pilgrims, with their missionary zeal, than that their example should attract others.

Entering wartime Holland seemed, said Bradford, "like they had come into a new world — fortified cities strongly walled and guarded with troops of armed men . . . a strange and uncouth language . . . different manners and customs of the people with their strange fashions and attires, all so far differing from that of their (the Pilgrims') plain country villages. . . ."

Their first views of Amsterdam, with the tower of its *Oude Kerk* (Old Church) dominating the scene from the harbor, must have been impressive indeed to these pastoral religious refugees. Formerly a small fishing village on the Amstel River, just off the Zuider Zee, Amsterdam had grown into a great metropolis during the Middle Ages — a growth later magnified by an influx of merchants and artisans from communities to the south, especially Antwerp, that had fallen under Spain's control.

Amsterdam's ready access to the sea made it a natural home port for Dutch explorers and trading vessels, and for the shipment of its manufactured goods. Navigators, among them the English explorer Henry Hudson, sailed from this harbor with Dutch seamen to seek both Northeast and Northwest passages to the Orient. Dutch ships were already bringing riches from the Far East, and final plans were nearly complete to establish a great world bank — something then unknown in the British Isles.

AMSTERDAM, ABOVE ALL, WAS A HAVEN from religious harassment. It also afforded the nearest and most fruitful potential source of livelihood available to these displaced, plundered, poverty-stricken farmers from England.

The last to flee from England across the North Sea with the women and children had been their leaders, Rev. Robinson, Rev. Clyfton and Brewster, who had "stayed to help the weakest over before them."

Now a new challenge arose in Amsterdam, a city described by Bradford as "flowing with abundance of all sorts of wealth and riches. . . .

"It was not long," he said, "before they saw the grim and grisly face of poverty coming upon them like an armed man. . . ."

The newcomers, not being citizens, did not have access to membership in the guilds that controlled the best-paid employment. Nor did they have the required skills. For most, then, the only jobs available were the poorest-paying — positions suited to beginners and the unskilled. But "armed with faith and patience," the Pilgrims were dependable, hard-working, uncomplaining.

Their presence in Amsterdam is associated chiefly with a narrow alley called the Street of the Brownists, in the area between the Old Church and the New Market — an area not far from the harbor where they landed and in the oldest part of the city. It was here that the Pilgrims joined in communion with earlier English immigrants in the Ancient Church of Southwark, originally formed in London by Rev. Johnson, who after a long imprisonment had escaped from England and was again the congregation's pastor.

Indeed, Holland had welcomed thousands of refugees since the time that the embattled William the Silent, a few years before his assassination, declared to the magistrates of Middelburg: "You have no right to interfere with the conscience of anyone so long as he works no public scandal or injury to his neighbor."

The Pilgrims were eager to enjoy their religious freedom in peace, but within a year they found that the harmony they sought was threatened. For among the earlier English residents there arose dissension over religious views.

Rev. John Smyth, who had fled from Gainsborough with his flock, fell into contention with his former college tutor, Rev. Johnson. These arguments were accompanied by flurries of contending religious tracts and sermons. The climax came for the Pilgrims when, as Bradford observed, "the flames of contention were like to break out in that (Rev. Johnson's) ancient church itself, as afterwards lamentably came to pass."

The Pilgrims, now intent on moving, selected the city of Leyden, some 25 miles southwest of Amsterdam, as the haven where they would live for more than 11 years.

REV. JOHN ROBINSON — INCREASINGLY ADmired for his peaceable nature, common sense, learning, and wise, amiable guidance — became leader of the Scroohy congregation. Their original pastor, Rev. Clyfton, white-haired and much aged by his sufferings, had decided to remain with Rev. Johnson at the Ancient Church. Bradford, who got his first religious teaching from Rev. Clyfton, said that the "reverend old man . . . was loath to remove any more."

Though the second largest community in Holland, Leyden was less than half the size of Amsterdam and did not have that city's easy access to the sea. Yet the Pilgrims resolved to go there, "though they well knew it would be much to the prejudice of their outward estates . . . as indeed it proved to be."

Earning livelihoods would be much harder — a stern, unsuspected preparation for the harsh life that would one day confront them in the wilderness of faraway New England.

In search of peace and spiritual comfort

The self-exiles find friendship, homes and jobs in charming Leyden; however, a vengeful King James continues to harass them.

CHAPTER

· V ·

Still in the Archives in Leyden is a record of the official action taken on the undated memorial, written in Dutch, that Rev. John Robinson sent to the Leyden magistrates and that stated respectfully:

"Some members of the Christian Reformed religion, born in the kingdom of Great Britain, to the number of 100 persons or thereabouts, men and women, represent that they are desirous of coming to live in this city by the 1st of May next; and to have the freedom thereof in carrying on their trades, without being a burden in the least to any one."

On Feb. 12, 1609, over the signature of one of their most respected leaders, Jan van Hout, the Leyden magistrates hospitably declared by way of response:

"They refuse no honest persons free ingress to come and have their residence in this city, provided that such persons behave themselves, and submit to the laws and ordinances; and therefore the coming of the memorialists will be agreeable and welcome."

Not so to King James.

The Pilgrims had hardly bundled up their belongings and come the canal route to Leyden — a passage westward toward Haarlem and then southwest to Leyden — when the king's ambassador at The Hague, only eight miles southwest of Leyden, informed the Leyden magistrates of King James' displeasure.

In straight-faced, diplomatic manner, the magistrates sent the ambassador copies of the correspondence with Rev. Robinson, and claimed that they had acted "without our having known, or as yet knowing, that the petitioners had been banished from England, or belonged to the sect of the Brownists . . . and request that we may be excused by . . . His Majesty."

This reaction was in the well-known liberal spirit of van Hout. The Leyden magistrates, of course — long accustomed to furnishing haven to religious refugees and supporting the reformist activity of their already famous university — well understood the plight of the Pilgrims. Also, a 12-year truce the Dutch signed with Spain in the spring of 1609 made subservience to the wishes of His Britannic Majesty less imperative.

King James, however, would be playing a strongly punitive role against the Pilgrims during their stay in Leyden.

"Leyden . . . a fair and beautiful city and of a sweet situation, but made more famous by the university wherewith it is adorned, in which of late had been so many learned men." In those words Bradford pinpointed the community's chief attractions, particularly the renown of its professors. One of them, Johannes Polyander — who would play an important part in the Pilgrims' dealings with King James — in telling friends of his house beside one of Leyden's numerous, Venice-like canals lined with linden trees, concluded: "I am lodged in the most beautiful spot in the world."

Leyden, like much of Holland, has the appearance of a low-lying meadow save for an artificially raised hill at the point where two branches of the Old Rhine, flowing in from the east, join near the city center and flow as a broader stream westward out of the city. On the hill, called the Burgh, was in early times a fort and later a castle.

Quick employment was a critical need for the Pilgrim newcomers. Leyden had long been a center of the fine-cloth trade. A lot of the wool goods exported from England, enriching ports like Boston, were manufactured into cloth in Leyden. In those days, however, this did not mean that there were immense mills. Manufacture mostly meant work on handlooms in individual houses, with the clothing entrepreneur furnishing the working materials, and warehousing and trading the finished products.

Most of the Pilgrims got jobs in the cloth industry, the greatest number as weavers in wool, silk, linen, fustian or bombazine (a form of silk with a special weave). Some were wool combers and wool carders. Some made gloves, ribbon and twine. A few were merchants. Some tried several jobs, from baker to printer.

"They fell to such trades and employments as they best could," said Bradford, "and at length they came to raise a competent and comfortable living, but with hard and continual labor."

At first their lodgings were in the newer part of Leyden, a city which, like Amsterdam, was expanding as it prospered. Costs were lowest there, in the northwest area of the community, and so there the Pilgrims "pitched" (settled). Above all, they valued peace, said Bradford, and "their spiritual comfort above any other riches whatsoever.

"They continued many years in a comfortable condition, enjoying much sweet and delightful society and spiritual comfort together in the ways of God, under the able ministry and prudent government of Mr. John Robinson and Mr. William Brewster who was an assistant unto him in place of an Elder, unto which he was now called and chosen by the church.

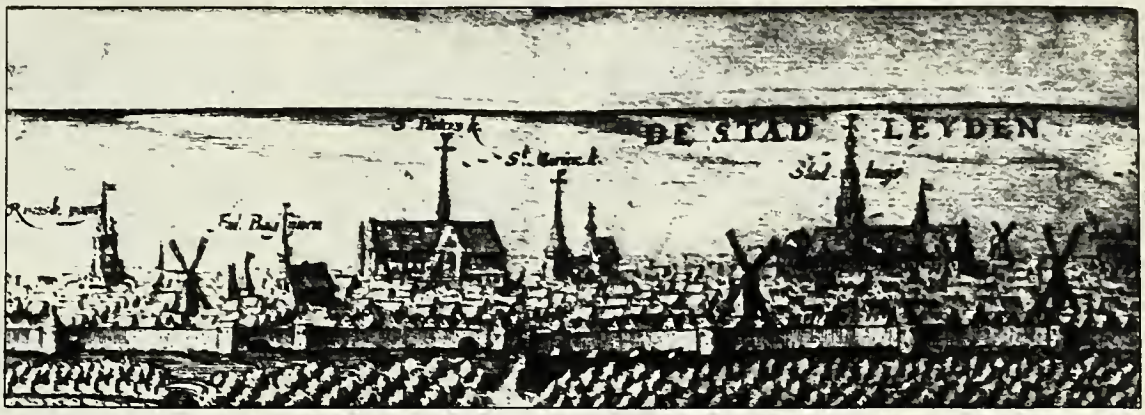
"Such was the true piety, the humble zeal and fervent love of this people, whilst they thus lived together, towards God and His ways, and the singleheartedness and sincere affection one towards another, that they came as near the primitive pattern of the first churches as any other church of these later times have done. . . ."

On May 5, 1611, Rev. Robinson and some members of the church, including his brother-in-law, completed the purchase of a house "formerly called the Groene Port (Green Gate)," which had a garden and a big vacant parcel of land in the rear. The purchase was on behalf of the entire church, the price 8000 guilders (equal then to 1400 pounds), with one-fourth down and an annual mortgage payment of 500 guilders — a big debt.

Green Gate, which was used as a parsonage for Rev. Robinson and his family, is the place most associated with the Pilgrim stay in Leyden, though long since demolished. It was here that the Pilgrim congregation met and held its divine services. The house was located in the old center of Leyden on the south side of the *hof* (square) surrounding the foremost landmark in the city, St. Peter's Church, a former cathedral built in the early thirteenth century.

The house faced Bell Alley. The entrance to the old cathedral was just across the alley. A visitor leaving the house and turning left would very quickly arrive at the linden-bordered canal outside Prof. Polyander's house, and by then crossing the bridge over the canal, would arrive directly at the University of Leyden. A right turn on leaving Green Gate, and a walk of similar distance to the eastward, would lead to Leyden's main thoroughfare and another landmark, the ***Stadhuis*** (City Hall), an ornate medieval structure.

MODERN MEMORIAL GATEWAY TO STINK ALLEY, OFF CHOIR ALLEY IN LEYDEN. BREWSTER'S HOUSE HAD ENTRANCES ON BOTH ALLEYS.



A VIEW OF LEYDEN, WITH ITS MANY WINDMILLS, DURING PILGRIM ERA. BRADFORD CALLED IT "...A FAIR AND BEAUTIFUL CITY...."

FIRST CHURCH, PLYMOUTH, MASS.

DESTRUCTION OF PILGRIM PRESS IN BREWSTER'S HOUSE IN LEYDEN. BY TIME AUTHORITIES FOUND IT, BREWSTER HAD ALREADY FLED TO ENGLAND.

GARDEN AREA IN COURTYARD OF ALMS HOUSE IS SITE WHERE PILGRIM CARPENTER BUILT 21 SMALL DWELLINGS.

ALMS HOUSE, BUILT IN 1683 ON SITE OF GREEN GATE, LEYDEN, WHERE REV. ROBINSON LIVED AND PILGRIMS WORSHIPPED.

The house, under lease when purchased, was not available for another year. But the big vacant parcel of land was accessible and a carpenter member of the congregation, William Jepson, began construction of 21 small dwellings on two sides of the land — a sort of *hof* of its own for members of the church.

Rev. Robinson moved into Green Gate on May 1, 1612. None of the Pilgrims has left a description, but we can readily imagine their thanksgiving service or their springtime gathering in Green Gate's garden, with its well that was the watering place for all those small dwellings built by Jepson. Bradford has left a happy picture of Rev. Robinson and his flock:

"His love was great towards them; and his care was always lent for their best good, both for soul and body. For besides his singular abilities in divine things, wherein he excelled; he was also very able to give directions in civil affairs, and to forsee dangers and inconveniences: by which means he was very helpful to their outward estates; and so was, every way, as a common father unto them."

The many extant records at City Hall — public records of marriages, citizenship, real estate, mortgages — furnish vivid glimpses of Pilgrim life in Leyden.

Bradford became a citizen of Leyden in the year Rev. Robinson took over Green Gate. Bradford, now of age, had come into an inheritance from his family estate back in Austerfield. He arranged to acquire a house of his own and the following year walked with his witnesses up the magnificent staircase of City Hall for his marriage to Dorothy May, 16-year-old daughter of the elder of the Ancient Church in Amsterdam. The groom was 23.

Bradford told how "many came unto them (the Pilgrims) from divers parts of England; so as they grew to a great congregation." In all, the congregation grew during the Pilgrims' time in Leyden to some 300 parishioners. Word of the Pilgrims had gone far beyond the "eminent places" near Scrooby — Boston, Hull and Grimsby. Newcomers came from Amsterdam's Ancient Church, from London, and from shires from Yorkshire to Kent.

The new members included some of the most prominent of

the Pilgrims. There was Isaac Allerton, a London tailor, who would become a merchant and magistrate in the New World. There were three who would become deacons in Leyden: Robert Cushman, a wool comber from Canterbury; Samuel Fuller, a maker of silk, satin and serge from London; and John Carver, a Yorkshire merchant and brother-in-law of Rev. Robinson. And there was Edward Winslow, a London printer and a future colonial governor.

The names of all of these, save Carver, are among those on the marriage rolls, which record nearly 50 Pilgrim weddings in Leyden. Carver, who would be the first governor of the Pilgrims in the New World, had married the older sister of Rev. Robinson's wife before coming to Holland.

THERE WERE NEARLY 100 CHILDREN IN THE PILgrim church during the time in Leyden — a pleasant, family picture. They were contemporaries of the artist Rembrandt, a child in Leyden in those years.

But there was a sad side, too. Childbirth was often fatal in those times, and burial records tell mournful tales. The saddest is of a friend of Brewster, Thomas Brewer, who within two months lost a child, and then his wife and another son in childbirth.

The Pilgrims' simple, steadfast, industrious way of life brought "good acceptation" from their neighbors.

"Though many of them were poor," said Bradford, "yet there was none so poor but that if they were known to be of that congregation (Brownists), the Dutch, either bakers or others, would trust them in any reasonable matter, when they wanted money; because they had found by experience, how careful they were to keep their word; and saw them so painful (painstaking) and diligent in their callings. Yea, they would strive to get their custom (business); and to employ them above others in their work, for their honesty and diligence."

In back of the land where the Pilgrims built the 21 small houses was the former Veiled Nuns' Cloister. The Leyden magistrates assigned its lower floor as the gathering place of the Reformed Scotch Church. The broad-minded pastor of the Pilgrims, Rev. Robinson, was friendly with the minister and members of this church, and they would at times hold communion together.

The clergyman's scholarship, like his tolerance, attracted many admirers, especially in the university. Soon after his arrival in Leyden Rev. Robinson, like many other exiled clergy on coming to Holland, publisbed his opinions. He wrote a book, *A Justification of Separation*, that was a theological defense of noncompliance with England's state church. He frequented the library of the university, conveniently located in the upper floor of the nearby Cloister.

In the fall of 1615 Rev. Robinson was admitted to the university as a student of theology. Many advantages accompanied this bonor: Tax exemption, exemption from service in the city guard, and allowances of 10 gallons of wine every three months and 126 gallons (half a tun) of beer every month — very welcome in an era without tea, coffee, soft drinks or a generally safe water supply.

"Great troubles" that "greatly molested the whole state" arose at this time, Bradford said, over what was called the Arminian controversy — a hot religious dispute that attracted the heavy hand of King James.

Jacobus Arminius, who up to his death was a professor of theology at the university, had preached that individuals by their own action can win salvation. This went against the rigid teaching of the Calvinists that man's salvation was a matter of heavenly predestination. The university had professors on both sides of the controversy and Rev. Robinson attended their rival lectures despite his heavy schedule of writing "sundry books" and giving three lectures a week to his congregation.

King James went so far as to persuade the Dutch authorities to influence the university to reject the candidate cbosen to succeed Prof. Arminius.

Rev. Robinson was brought into the controversy by his friend Prof. Polyander, orthodox advocate of the Calvinist doctrine. The clergyman, said Bradford, "was loath, being a stranger." But the professor anxiously importuned Rev. Robinson with the appeal that "such was the ability and nimbleness of the adversary that the truth would suffer if he (Rev. Robinson) did not help. . . ."

The Pilgrim pastor ultimately delivered three university lectures and won "much bonor and respect." But the grateful university refrained from heaping any "public favor" on Rev. Robinson to avoid "giving offense to the state of England" — namely, King James.

In later developments in the controversy — developments that gravely endangered the unity of Holland — King James got the Dutch government to further twist the university's arm and prevent the famous English divine, Rev. William Ames, from joining the university's faculty.

Rev. Ames was friend or tutor to all the clergy who would fill the first pulpits in New England. Only his death prevented him from coming to the New World in later years. But his teaching — his use of direct, forceful language — shaped the sermons preached to early New Englanders. And his book for long was the principal theological text at the first training ground for New England clergy, Harvard College.

Harsher tactics than those used against Rev. Ames were employed by King James against William Brewster and his underground press.

Brewster, who had suffered the "greatest loss" in the flight from Scrooby to Holland, had financial difficulties that were the more burdensome because of his age. In those early years "be suffered much hardship," said Bradford, "[as] he had spent the most of his means, having a great charge (expense) and many children; and, in regard of his former breeding and course of life, not so fit for many employments as others were; especially sucb as were toilsome and laborious. But yet be ever bore his condition with much cheerfulness and contentation (contentment)."

Brewster's schooling at Cambridge came to his aid. He could speak Latin, the scholar's tongue. The University of Leyden drew many students from Denmark and Germany. Brewster prepared a book of rules, in the style of Latin grammar books, and taught English in his dwelling. "Many gentlemen, both Danes and Germans," said Bradford, "resorted to him, as they had time from other studies: some of them being great men's sons."

BREWSTER'S GREATEST SOURCE OF HELP, HOWever, was Thomas Brewer, a wealthy gentleman from Kent who came to live in Leyden, in a house he purchased in Bell Alley just a door but one from Rev. Robinson's Green Gate. It was called the Green House.

Brewer, a man in his late 30s, about 10 years younger than Brewster, was a member of the Reformed Scotch Church. He was a Puritan zealous to spread the gospel. He made his bouse a center for students, among them a doctor and a future minister of his church. Brewer himself was enrolled in the University of Leyden as a scholar in literature.

Chiefly with Brewer's financing, Brewster was able late in 1616 to make arrangements for publishing from his dwelling on Stink Alley, a narrow passageway off Choir Alley, which runs from the main city street with its City Hall to the square surrounding St. Peter's Church, entering the square toward the rear of the church. Brewster's L-shaped, three-family bouse also had an entrance on Choir Alley.

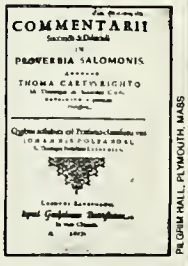
Brewster and his helpers had "employment enough," said Bradford; "and by reason of many books whicb would not be allowed to be printed in England, they might have had more than they could do."

Financial aid made it possible for Brewster, wbo was not a printer himself, to secure a master printer from London, John Reynolds. With Reynolds came an apprentice printer, or assistant, who would become a most eminent Pilgrim. He was Edward Winslow, then 21 years of age. They both lived in Brewster's house, and, when they soon went with their brides to be married at City Hall, members of the Brewster family went as attendants.

Brewster's publications were far more religious than commercial in nature. The first few books, in Latin and Dutch, bore his name; the date, 1617; and the words *In Vico Chorali*, which is the Latin translation of Cboir Alley and the name most often associated with these Pilgrim printing activities. The fact that none of the first three books was in English and that only these bear the

LEYDEN UNIVERSITY

PROF. JOHANNES POLYANDER OF LEYDEN UNIVERSITY PLAYED CRITICAL ROLE IN PILGRIMS' DEALINGS WITH KING JAMES.

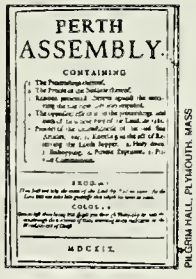


PILGRIM HALL, PLYMOUTH, MASS.

BREWSTER'S FIRST BOOK, *COMMENTARIES* — A LATIN COMMENTARY ON RELIGIOUS PROVERBS — CARRIES PREFACE BY PROF. POLYANDER.

BOSTON ATHENAEUM

SIR DUDLEY CARLETON, KING JAMES' AMBASSADOR AT THE HAGUE, WAS KEY FIGURE IN SEARCH FOR BREWSTER IN HOLLAND.


PERTH
ASSEMBLY.
CONTAINING

PILGRIM HALL, PLYMOUTH, MASS.

TITLE PAGE OF *PERTH ASSEMBLY*, WHICH DENOUNCED EFFORT BY KING JAMES TO IMPOSE A HIERARCHY OF BISHOPS ON SCOTTISH CHURCH.

Brewster imprint indicates that they were intended to provide the later printing with protection.

Eventually some dozen-and-a-half books came from Choir Alley, which would keep such a small enterprise very busy. Later events, when the authorities raided the premises, suggest that no press work was done there and that the type, when set, was taken for printing to Dutch shops.

Significantly, Prof. Polyander wrote a preface to Brewster's first book, a Latin commentary on religious proverbs. Brewster's printing had other associations with the university, including tracts on the Arminian controversy. One of his other earliest books was a polemic by Rev. Ames, who was such a personal source of irritation to King James even though the clergyman was one of those Puritans who wanted to stay within the state church.

Late in 1618, with Europe about to be plunged into the devastation and agony of the Thirty Years War, and with Prince Maurice of Orange eager for English assistance, King James was able to get the Dutch ruler to issue an edict that prohibited foreigners in Holland from printing books objectionable to friendly foreign countries.

King James had reason. Earlier that year, in August, he had called a church synod at Perth, the ancient capital of Scotland, in an effort to impose a hierarchical structure of bishops over the presbyters, the elders, of the Scottish church.

The Scots were unalterably opposed. The historian of the Scottish church, nonconforming David Calderwood, wrote a tract denouncing the Perth Assembly. To get it printed, he fled to Holland, and in a few months *Perth Assembly*, printed with type from Brewster's fonts, appeared in Scotland. It had been smuggled into Scotland concealed in wine vats. King James was incensed.

The captain of the guard in Edinburgh, on the king's orders, searched the "booths and houses" of three booksellers there but found neither *Perth Assembly* nor the author.

An innocent Scotch bookseller who happened to be in London was seized and brought before the angry king. "The devil take you away, both body and soul," raged King James to the kneeling bookseller, "for you are none of my religion." As for his Scottish subjects in general, the king added: "The devil rive (split) their souls and bodies all in collops (slices), and cast them into hell!" The bookseller was unjustly kept in prison for three months.

In July 1619 His Majesty's ambassador at The Hague, Sir Dudley Carleton, came across some copies of *Perth Assembly* and some clues. He hurried off a message to King James' secretary of state, Sir Robert Naunton, at Whitehall Palace: "I am informed it is printed by a certain English Brownist of Leyden, as are most of the Puritan books sent over, of late days, into England." In view of the new Dutch edict, Carleton said that he would complain to the Dutch authorities.

Five days later Carleton hustled off another note to Naunton in which he said that the culprit was "one William Brewster, a Brownist, who hath been, for some years, an inhabitant and printer at Leyden; but is now within these three weeks . . . gone back to dwell in London . . . where he may be found out and examined." If Brewster was not the printer, advised Carleton, "he assuredly knows both the printer and the author."

Carleton was right. Brewster was already in England and some three months earlier — doubtless aware of the royal manhunt — had, as Pilgrim Deacon Robert Cushman, then in England, wrote the Pilgrims back in Leyden, gone "into the north" of England. Brewster, sought by the authorities in three countries — England, Scotland and Holland — had gone underground.

Now began something of a comedy of errors. The sleuths were unquestionably misled by friends of Brewster, particularly his friends at the University of Leyden, where his tutoring of scholars had made him quite popular.

Naunton wrote to Carleton that Brewster was not to be found in London and that he must be somewhere in Holland. Carleton wrote back that he was informed Brewster was not only not in Leyden but unlikely to be there any time soon, "having removed from thence both his family and goods. . . ."

From King James came something more menacing for the Dutch, eager for his good will. The king had commanded him, Naunton said, to tell Carleton to "deal roundly with the States-General (the Dutch central government) in his name, for the apprehension of him, the said Brewster, as they tender (value) His Majesty's friendship."

Carleton began to get hints that Brewster was in Leyden . . . no, maybe Amsterdam. He had searches made, keeping Naunton (and, of course, the irritated king) informed.

Then, suddenly, Carleton triumphantly informed them that Brewster had been taken in Leyden. But Carleton was quickly forced to get off another message explaining that he was in error — an error caused by a bailiff, "a dull, drunken fellow [who] took one man for another."

The man under arrest was Brewster's benefactor, Thomas Brewer.

Brewer told the authorities that "his business heretofore had been printing, or having printing done," but he blandly explained that he had quit any printing the prior December because of the edict making it illegal. He identified Brewster as "his partner," but, by way of throwing the pursuers off scent, said that Brewster was "in town at present, but sick."

The bailiff, now certainly sober, rechecked and reported that Brewster "had already left" Leyden. Brewer, being "a member of the university," was now transferred to the university authorities. When the bailiff asked assistance from the university in seizing the illegal printing supplies, university officials — most likely with tongue in cheek — appointed Prof. Polyander, Brewster's friend, to help him.

THEY FOUND "THE TYPES" IN THE GARRET OF Brewster's former dwelling in Stink Alley. They made a catalogue of the books found. Then the bailiff had "the garret door nailed in two places, and the seal of the said officer, impressed in green wax over the paper, is placed upon the lock and the nails. . . ."

Naunton wrote consolingly to Carleton:

"I am sorry that Brewster's person hath so escaped you; but I hope Brewer will help you find him out."

Brewer did no such thing.

It was now, however, that Rev. Ames' desire for appointment at the University of Leyden was wrecked. In going over the catalogue of Brewster's books, Carleton noticed that Rev. Ames "hath his hand in many of these." Carleton told Naunton he therefore "desired the curators of the University of Leyden not to admit him (Rev. Ames) to a place of public professor . . . until he hath given His Majesty full satisfaction." That, given the king's attitude, was impossible.

The questioning of Brewer did not satisfy King James. He sent word from Hampton Court, by Naunton, that he would like to have Brewer remanded to England and would also like the States-General to republish its edict to prevent the "vending underhand of such scandalous and libellous" publications as *Perth Assembly*.

The king's request ran headlong into difficulties raised by the university. Its officials were unwilling to remand Brewer, and felt they should be the ones to try him. Carleton got the Prince of Orange to speak personally with the university rector. Finally Prof. Polyander arranged a compromise: Brewer was to go "voluntarily" to England, with the assurance that he could return to Holland within three months free of expenses, and unharmed.

Carleton called Brewer "a professed Brownist" who had "mortgaged and consumed a great part of his estate . . . through the reveries (dreams) of his religion." Questioning of Brewer in London proved futile. Naunton wrote Carleton that Brewer "did all that a silly creature could to increase his (the king's) unsatisfaction." Brewer was discharged. But he did not return to Holland.

A few years later Brewer, persecuted by the bishops for aiding gatherings of nonconformists in Kent, was fined 1000 pounds and imprisoned. He remained in King's Bench Prison for 14 years, until he was released by act of the Long Parliament, on the eve of the civil war against King James' son and successor, Charles I.

Brewster, in heading "into the north," may well have avoided a much worse fate than Brewer's, with King James — called "the wisest fool in Christendom" by the chief minister of a French monarch — thirsting for his arrest.

Searching for a haven in the New World

Deciding to leave Holland, the Pilgrims are beset by many problems as they seek financing and official approval for their emigration.

CHAPTER
· VI ·

The prospect that the Pilgrims must once again uproot themselves, despite its subjecting them again to heartache and hazards, had become increasingly clear as far back as the fall of 1617.

It was not "any newfangledness or other such giddy humor" that impelled them. Their leaders, Rev. Robinson and Brewster, and "the sagest members began both deeply to apprehend their present dangers and wisely to forsee the future and think of timely remedy." They were becoming deeply distressed and felt that there were "weighty and solid reasons" that they must leave Holland.

The reasons did not in the least slight the benevolent reception they had received from the Dutch people. The Pilgrims prized their neighbors' high esteem. But they had come to realize that their economic future was basically insecure and that their Englisb way of life — still loved by these religious exiles — was doomed if they remained in Holland.

"The grave mistress of experience ... taught them many things," said Bradford of their years in that country. Bradford and another future governor, Edward Winslow, having carefully marshalled those experiences in their later writings, cited them as the reasons that would eventually convince the Pilgrims that they sbould emigrate to the New World.

Earning a living in handicrafts was hard — so hard that some who had come to join the Pilgrims had departed from Holland, and others who would like to have joined them "preferred and chose the prisons in England rather than this liberty in Holland." The Pilgrims were coming to feel convinced that "if a better and easier place of living could be had, it would draw many and take away these discouragements. ...

"The people generally bore all these difficulties very cheerfully ... yet old age began to steal on many of them; and their great and continual labours, with other crosses and sorrows, hastened it before the time. It was not only probably tbought, but apparently seen, that within a few years more they would be in danger to scatter, by necessities pressing them, or sink under their burdens, or both. ...

"Many of their children ... were oftentimes so oppressed with their heavy labours that thougb their minds were free and willing, yet their bodies bowed under the weight of the same, and became decrepit in their early youth, the vigor of nature being consumed in the very bud as it were.

"But that that was more lamentable, and of all sorrows most beavy to bear, was that many of their children, by ... the great licentiousness of youth in that country, and the manifold temptations of the place, were drawn away by evil examples into extravagant and dangerous courses, getting the reins off their necks and departing from their parents.

"Some became soldiers, others took upon them far voyages by sea, and some worse courses tending to dissoluteness and the danger of tbeir souls, to the great grief of their parents and dishonor of God. So that they saw their posterity would be in danger to degenerate and be corrupted.

"Lastly, and which was not least, a great bope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way thereunto, for the propagating and advancing the gospel of the kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of the world; yea, though they should be but even as stepping-stones unto others for the performing of so great a work."

Winslow had additional reasons. Public education had long been a tradition in Holland, but the Pilgrims felt that tbey could not give "such education to our children as we ourselves had received."

The Dutch, as pictured in their happy genre paintings, treated Sunday as a day for pleasure and merrymaking. Brewster felt the stricter Pilgrims were not likely to succeed "in reforming the Sabbath." Another worry: "How likely we were to lose our language and our name, of English."

His last concern was prophetic. Only about a third of the Leyden congregation would eventually leave for the New World; and those remaining would, in little more than a generation, be completely assimilated into the Dutch melting pot.

The Pilgrims discussed every aspect of what they should do. They fasted and prayed for the Lord "to direct us." They were well aware of New World explorations and of the "ill success and lamentable miseries befallen others": Sir Walter Raleigb's lost colony of Roanoke, the failure of the Popham colony in Maine. They also knew of Raleigh's latest — and futile — efforts in Guiana, Henry Hudson's discoveries in future New York, and his friend Capt. John Smith's exploration of a region he christened "New England." And they knew of the current difficulties of the Virginia colony in Jamestown, then the only English plantation in all North America.

They talked of New World dangers from savage people and they discussed the paucity of funds "to fit them with necessaries." Yet they felt that, with God's help, "the dangers were great, but not desperate; the difficulties were many, but not invincible."

There was yet another concern. Holland's 12-year truce with Spain, made in 1609, was drawing to a close. There was religious strife in Bobemia that would lead to the sbocking desolation of the Thirty Years War. Already in their daily lives:

"There was nothing but beating of drums and preparing for war; the events whereof are always uncertain. The Spaniard might prove as cruel as the savages of America; and the famine and pestilence as sore here as there; and their liberty less to look out for remedy."

There was division for a time among them. Some favored going to the "perpetual Spring" of Raleigh's Guiana. Others feared its hot, unfamiliar climate and the danger of Spanish attack. Some were for Southern Virginia and the Jamestown region. But others feared that they would again encounter the religious persecution that had driven them from England. So the majority determined to try "to live as a distinct body by themselves" in Northern Virginia (an area that encompassed modernday New England.)

Optimistically, they resolved to attempt, with the help of friends, to beseech King James "that he would be pleased to grant them Freedom of Religion." Unknown to them, their negotiations would drag wearisomely over a period of about three years.

First they sought permission, in the form of a patent, from the Virginia Company of London, sponsors of the Jamestown plantation. Through Brewster, they had some influential friends, especially Sir Edwin Sandys. Sandys was the son of the late Arch-

CLOTH HALL IN LEYDEN, GATHERING PLACE FOR WORKERS WHO, LIKE MANY OF PILGRIMS, WERE ENGAGED IN FABRIC MANUFACTURE.

PILGRIM HALL PLYMOUTH MASS

THE ILL-FATED SHIP *SPEEDWELL.*

SIR ROBERT NAUNTON (TOP RIGHT), KING JAMES' SECRETARY OF STATE.

MAYFLOWER INN, ON SITE OF ROTHERHITHE WHARF WHERE "STRANGERS" BOARDED *MAYFLOWER.*

bishop Sandys of York, who had been a friend of Brewster's father and was Brewster's landlord at Scrooby Manor.

Rev. Robinson and Brewster, to aid the quest for a patent, drafted "Seven Articles" briefly stating the Pilgrims' views on the faith and form of the state church. Their adroit wording wisely showed submission to King James, and assented to the bishops' right to "govern them civilly." Their religious differences in that way were diplomatically minimized.

In late 1617, two Pilgrim deacons, John Carver, 51, merchant and brother-in-law of Rev. Robinson, and Robert Cushman, 39, wool comber, were sent to London to seek a patent.

Sandys was soon — on Nov. 12, 1617 — writing back to Rev. Robinson and Brewster that the two deacons had conducted themselves with "good discretion." The Seven Articles had given "good degree of satisfaction" to the gentlemen of the Council for the Virginia Company who had been approached by Carver and Cushman. The deacons had headed back to Leyden for more consultation with the petition seemingly in "all forwardness."

Rev. Robinson and Brewster wrote back their thanks to Sandys and told him that "under God, above all persons and things in the world, we rely upon you; expecting the care of your love counsel of your wisdom, and the help and countenance of your authority." They sent him additional information about the Pilgrims that he might care to "impart to any other [of] our worshipful friends of the Council for Virginia."

The Pilgrims, they wrote, "believe and trust the Lord is with us. We are well weaned from the delicate milk of our mother country and inured to the difficulties of a strange and hard land. The people are . . . [as] industrious and frugal, we think we may safely say, as any company of people in the world.

"We are knit together, as a body, in a most strict bond and covenant of the Lord . . . we do hold ourselves straitly tied to all care of each other's good, and of the whole, by every one; and so mutually. It is not with us as with other men whom small things can discourage or small discontentments cause to wish themselves home again.

"If we should be driven to return (from the New World), we should not hope to recover our present helps and comforts: nei-

ther indeed look ever, for ourselves, to attain unto the like in any other place, during our lives; which are now drawing toward their periods (ends)." They certainly appeared to be, as they would prove, reliable colonists.

Sandys procured the help of a most highly placed friend, Sir Robert Naunton, King James' secretary of state — the very official who would in less than two years be involved in the king's unrelenting efforts to track down Brewster as the suspected publisher of *Perth Assembly*.

According to Winslow, Naunton urged the king "to give way to such a people, who could not so comfortably live under the government of another state, to enjoy their liberty of conscience under his gracious protection in America: where they would endeavor the advancement of His Majesty's dominions and the enlargement (spread) of the Gospel. . . ."

King James thought this "a good and honest motion" and asked Naunton how these people hoped to make profits in Northern Virginia. "Fishing," replied Naunton.

"So God have my soul! 'tis an honest trade! It was the Apostles' own calling!" responded the king.

Prospects for the patent and the Pilgrims' request for "liberty in religion . . . confirmed under the king's broad seal" looked surprisingly favorable. The Pilgrims were told as much. Indeed, to help meet some lingering questions in the Privy Council, Rev. Robinson and Brewster wrote additional descriptions of their church practices so another highly placed friend, a London merchant, could use them to help the cause. The merchant gave the young messenger who brought their letter "very good news, for both the King's Majesty and the bishops have consented."

But the merchant was mistaken, and even Sir Edwin Sandys was, too; for Sandys told the messenger to be at the next court (meeting) of the Virginia Company. But it turned out that the king had afterwards told Naunton that the Pilgrims "should confer with the Bishops of Canterbury and London."

The final advice of the Pilgrims' friends was to avoid that. Instead, the Pilgrims were urged to go ahead with their plans in the hope that the king would leave them alone.

"In sounding His Majesty's mind," their friends reported, they had found "that he would connive at (quietly go along with) them, and not molest them; provided they carried themselves peaceably: but to allow, or tolerate, them by his public authority, under his seal, they found it would not be."

CARVER AND CUSHMAN BORE THIS REPORT back to Leyden and it immediately "made a damp in the business." Again there was soul-searching and lengthy debate. Those intending to sell their property feared the implied promise of the king might prove a "sandy foundation" on which to build their hopes. Others argued that even had they gotten the king's seal, it could have been revoked.

The Pilgrims finally came to a decision bespeaking their faith: "They must rest herein on God's Providence as they had done in other things." They would persevere.

Some began to sell their property. Bradford sold his house by the back canal. This time Brewster and Cushman were sent to London, with instructions "upon what conditions they should proceed with them (the Virginia Company); or else to conclude nothing without further advice."

It was the spring of 1619 when Brewster and Cushman arrived in England. They were to find unexpected tribulation. The political cleavage that would later lead to civil war in England — and to the heavy migration of the Puritans who would make up the Massachusetts Bay colony — had now split the Virginia Company into two bitter factions, basically pro-king and royal prerogative as against pro-people and Parliament.

In April Sir Thomas Smith, the ardent royalist who had headed the East India and Moscovy trading companies as well as the Virginia Company, decided to cut down on his responsibilities, until he discovered that Sandys was seeking to replace him as governor and treasurer of the company.

Smith strenuously opposed Sandys. Yet though the king himself vehemently declared, "Choose the devil, if you will, but not Sir Edwin Sandys," Sandys won the treasurer's post. And the struggle continued for several years, with King James' Privy Council ordering house arrests, with threatened duels nipped at the eleventh hour, with a royal inquiry into the government of Virginia, and, eventually, with the king's annulling the charter and taking over the Virginia colony.

Little wonder that Cushman wrote dolefully back to Leyden on May 8, 1619, that he was withdrawing to his old home grounds of Canterbury to wait, for the "dissensions and factions were so extreme no business could . . . be dispatched."

Cushman had two other pieces of news for Leyden. One was that "Master B is not well at this time. Whether he will come back to you or go into the north, I yet know not." Cushman's "Master B" was, of course, Brewster, avoiding arrest. Copies of *Perth Assembly* were being uncovered in Scotland by the authorities. Brewster's going underground was therefore eminently prudent.

Cushman's other information was "heavy news." Word had just reached London from the west of England that Francis Blackwell had died, along with 130 of the 180 passengers "packed together like herrings" into a vessel headed for Jamestown. Blackwell, well-known to the Pilgrims, was ruling elder of a dissident remnant of the Ancient Church in Amsterdam.

Blackwell was blamed for packing so many into the ship when it left Gravesend, at the mouth of the Thames River, toward the beginning of the winter. The ship was driven far off course by storms, and its passengers lacked water and food, and were plagued by dysentery. The survivors barely made port in March after the death of the ship's captain and six mariners.

Cushman, in breaking this tragic news about the perils of voyaging to the New World, wrote in his letter, "I would be glad to hear how far it will discourage you. I see none here discouraged much, but rather desire to learn. . . . It doth often trouble me to think that, in this business, we are all to learn, and none to teach: but better so, than to depend upon such teachers as Master Blackwell was."

The Leyden faithful were not discouraged.

On May 26, 1619, the Pilgrims' petition for a patent was referred to Sandys' committee of the Virginia Company, meeting at his house in London. On their friends' advice, the patent was requested in the name of a stranger to the Pilgrims, Rev. John Wincop, chaplain to the earl of Lincoln. The Puritan leanings of Sandys were self-evident. The earl's household was also Puritan and would in the coming decade be intimately connected with the Puritan migration to Massachusetts Bay. In the household lived a future Bay colony governor, Thomas Dudley, the earl's steward; and a visitor was another future governor, John Winthrop.

The Wincop patent received the official seal June 9, 1619. But the long, agonizing ordeal for the Pilgrims was far from over.

The Virginia Company for some time had been eager to make tracts of land available to settlers. Jamestown had thus far failed as an investment, and bankruptcy for the company was just five years away. But securing a patent, of course, provided none of the financial help, supplies and shipping that the Pilgrims so desperately required.

Meantime the threat of war grew. In August King James' son-in-law, Frederick, elector of the Rhineland-Palatinate and leader of the Calvinist Reformation forces, was offered and accepted the crown of Bohemia — an action that would set in motion against Frederick the mighty armies of the Holy Roman Emperor.

Wealthy Dutch merchants now learned of the considerable needs of their Pilgrim residents, and they made tempting proposals to Rev. Robinson when he informed these merchants that he was ready to induce more than 400 families, both of Holland and England, to live in the New Netherland region of the Hudson River. The merchants even offered free shipping and free cattle for each family.

The imminence of war prompted the Pilgrims to inquire if Holland would also give them the protection of two warships. To get the ships, the directors of the New Netherland trading company on Feb. 2, 1620, petitioned Prince Maurice of Orange, son and successor to the assassinated William the Silent.

The Pilgrims emphasized the advantages to Holland. The Dutch had been trading for furs for several years on the Hudson

BOSTON ATHENAEUM

SIR EDWYN SANDYS, SON OF ARCHBISHOP SANDYS OF YORK, AIDED PILGRIMS IN THEIR BID FOR PATENT FROM VIRGINIA COMPANY OF LONDON.

River but had no plantation as yet, "only factors (agents) there, continually resident, trading with the savages." The Pilgrims could be the first settlers and hold New Netherland for Holland!

Prince Maurice, already drilling for war, was hardly in a position to spare two warships. But before he made his decision — and it would be to reject the directors' petition — there came, providentially, a most lively visitor to Leyden.

The visitor quickly convinced the Pilgrims that he would satisfy their most pressing needs. He persuaded them both "not to meddle with (accept) the Dutch proposal" and not "too much to depend on the Virginia Company." Then, if they were still resolved to emigrate, "he and such merchants as were his friends, together with their (the Pilgrims') own means, would set them forth: and they should make ready, and neither fear want of shipping nor money; for what they wanted should be provided."

The visitor, Thomas Weston, an ironmonger of London, was a highly compelling character, chock-full with the high spirit of the Elizabethan Age; a promoter and a speculator. Weston for some time had been leader and treasurer of a group of men of the London scene — merchant adventurers, holders of stock in money-making pursuits from fishing to the trading of shipments of wool to the Low Countries. (The latter adventure, when they ran afoul of the licensing monopoly of a different group of London merchants, fetched Weston's group a rebuke from the Privy Council.)

Without Weston's appearance at this time it is highly doubtful the Pilgrims would have been on their way to America in 1620.

Weston, though, did have some shortcomings. He was an overpromising, overoptimistic enthusiast. His most profound motivation was strictly making money, and the writings and propagandizing of Capt. John Smith had convinced him there was money to be made in the New World.

It so happened that Weston had an interest in a patent that an associate of his, John Peirce, a London cloth entrepreneur, obtained on Feb. 2, 1620, from the Virginia Company of London. It is likely that this Peirce patent was more liberal than the Wincop patent — a moot matter, for both have disappeared.

Weston advised the Pilgrims to use the Peirce patent, which included, as part of Northern Virginia, the Hudson River area. He also asked them to draw up a contract of terms, not especially for him, but for his fellow adventurers. Articles of agreement were thereupon drafted, and Weston promptly approved them.

There was to be a joint-stock arrangement with the adventurers, ten pounds value to the share. This could be in cash paid in; or every colonist going who was over 16 years of age would represent a share, and any colonist defraying the cost of his own provisions would rate an additional share. Two children between 10 and 16 years of age would rate a share, and every child under 10 would rate "50 acres of unmanured land." All profits and benefits from the plantation would go into a common holding, to be divided proportionately at the end of seven years.

Deacons Carver and Cushman were dispatched to England "to receive the monies and make provision both for shipping and other things for the voyage: with this charge, not to exceed their commission (instructions) but to proceed according to the . . . Articles of Agreement." A committee was chosen at Leyden to do the same thing. More Pilgrims sold belongings, and those few who were able put money into shares of the common stock.

About this time the Pilgrims in Leyden learned from Weston and others that the old Virginia Company of Plymouth, in the west of England, was being reorganized and was about to get a royal charter to the area in Northern Virginia now being called New England.

Further word came that Weston leaned toward having the Pilgrims locate their plantation in New England. This proposal revived division and debate. Some once again pressed the idea of going to Guiana, others to Southern Virginia. Some "merchants and friends that had offered to adventure their monies, withdrew; and pretended many excuses."

Far worse news was that the adventurers in England had demanded changes in the contract. Weston, on his return to London, found some of his associates unwilling to venture their money unless the Pilgrims agreed that the common stock should include even their private dwellings and improved lands, and that they should work seven rather than five days a week for the common holding.

Rev. Robinson, on learning of this harsh development, said that including private houses, gardens and house lots in the common stock would represent a "trifle" to the adventurers but would be "a great discouragement" to the emigrants, who would have "borrowed hours from their sleep" to make the houses comfortable. He felt the other demand was shortsighted, too — "a new apprenticeship of seven years and not a day's freedom from task!"

IN LONDON CUSHMAN, CONFRONTED WITH THE possibility that the bottom would fall out of the whole project if he rejected Weston's new demands, gave his approval. This would produce sharp division between the Pilgrims and the adventurers that impaired and even threatened to destroy their cooperation, and would bring Cushman's independent action under Pilgrim criticism that was not entirely just.

Cushman, sorely upset, wrote to Leyden that he knew of the "great discontents and dislikes of my proceedings," for "making conditions fitter for thieves and bondslaves than honest men." He said he was so busy "I cannot be absent one day, except I should hazard all the voyage." But, he added, when they would next get together, "I shall satisfy any reasonable man." And he pleaded:

"Only let us have quietness and no more of these clamors."

Suspicions now arose about Weston. The committee in Leyden, which included Bradford and Winslow, wrote Cushman, "Salute Master Weston from us, in whom we hope we are not deceived." Even Rev. Robinson felt doubts. In a letter in mid-June 1620, the clergyman said the fact that Weston did not have "shipping ready before this time . . . cannot in my conscience be excused."

Weston, as his group's treasurer, was plainly having trouble raising money. He had undoubtedly grasped at the idea of a New England colony because a fishing monopoly might go with it. This could mean quick profits. But when that possibility eluded him he likely embraced the harsher terms to retain and attract investors. Several times he told Cushman that "save for his promise he would not meddle at all with the business any more."

Like Rev. Robinson, Weston was worried about the passage of time. Quite properly, he objected that provisions for the voyage were being assembled in three different places: by Cushman in London, by Carver in Southampton, and in Kent by a newcomer, headstrong Christopher Martin of Essex, who had been appointed to the task to represent the many "Strangers" (nonmembers of the Pilgrim congregation) recruited by the adventurers in London to go on the voyage.

Cushman said that Weston complained, "We will, with going up and down, and wrangling and expostulating pass over the summer before we will go." The eventual loss of good sailing time would be dangerously far worse.

The Leyden committee had acquired a 60-ton vessel and had had it refitted, in particular with new masts. It was called the *Speedwell.* Rev. Robinson said that Weston had made "himself merry with our endeavors about buying a ship."

Weston, of course, had had far more experience with ships than had the Leyden ex-farmers. But acquiring the ill-fated *Speedwell* did seem a sound idea. It could potentially provide the Pilgrims with a consort across the vast ocean and, once in America, could be used for fishing and trading (or "trucking," as they called it) and for "such other affairs as might be for their good and benefit of the colony when they came there."

"Pitiful" feelings were now replaced by hope when Cushman sent word to Leyden that a pilot he had sent over, Master Reynolds, should stand by to bring the *Speedwell* and its passengers to Southampton and that another pilot had been hired, Master John Clarke, "who went last year to Virginia with a ship of kine (cattle) from Ireland."

Then, still in June, and moving at the last minute so as to save expenses, Weston and Cushman hired a 180-ton vessel owned and berthed at Rotherhithe, a very active port on the south side of the Thames River two miles east of London Bridge. This ship was the *Mayflower.*

MEMORIAL IN ST. MARY'S CHURCH, ROTHERHITHE, DATED 1622, DEPICTS PILGRIM-ERA VESSEL. MASTER CHRISTOPHER JONES OF *MAYFLOWER* IS BURIED AT CHURCH.

Setting sail towards a little-known land

The Mayflower starts across the ocean, but 'to most of these essentially plain farm folk, their real transport was more their faith in God than their vessel.'

CHAPTER
· VII ·

Prayer — an appeal for God's guidance — came first into the minds of the Pilgrims upon receipt of the news that their migration to the New World was finally to get under way.

"They had a solemn meeting and a day of humiliation, to seek the Lord for his directions," said Bradford. Their pastor, Rev. Robinson, preached a sermon recounting the biblical story of how "David asked counsel of the Lord." The clergyman then spoke comforting words, "strengthening them against their fears and perplexities; and encouraging them in their resolutions."

Even if the Pilgrims were all ready to go together, however, they lacked the "means to have transported them." They decided that if a majority were to have their affairs in order, and thus be able to leave, Rev. Robinson would accompany them as their pastor; if not, they desired that Brewster should go as their elder.

Those going would "be an absolute church of themselves, as well as those that stayed: seeing, in such a dangerous voyage and a removal to such a distance, it might come to pass they should, for the body of them, never meet again in this world." Still, all would continue as members of the faith, whether in Holland or the New World, "without any further dismission (dismissal) or testimonial."

Winslow told of two other major decisions made by the congregation at this time: "They that went should freely offer themselves" and "the youngest and strongest part" should go first.

Another day of solemn humiliation was held when notice came from Delftshaven — a port near Rotterdam on the River Maas that was a little more than 20 miles to the southward by canal — that the *Speedwell*, with its new masts and sails, was ready.

Rev. Robinson, the beloved pastor, preached his final sermon for the departing Pilgrims. He read a lesson from the Bible that to seek God was "a right way for us and for our children. He spent a good part of the day very profitably and suitable to their present condition," said Bradford, and there were fervent prayers "mixed with abundance of tears."

Winslow later recalled some of the clergyman's words: "Whether the Lord had appointed it or not, he charged us before God and His blessed angels, to follow him no further than he followed Christ."

The broad-minded pastor exhorted them that "if God should reveal anything to us by any other instrument of His, to be as ready to receive it as ever we were to receive any truth of his (Rev. Robinson's) ministry; for he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to break forth out of His holy word.

"Another thing he commended to us, was that we should use all means to avoid and shake off the name of Brownist, being a mere nickname and brand to make religion odious . . . and to that end, said he, I should be glad if some godly minister would go over with you before my coming."

The clergyman, who would be frustrated from ever going to the New World, told them, "Be not loath to take another pastor or teacher . . . for that flock that hath two shepherds is not endangered but secured by it." The Pilgrims would hope for years that Rev. Robinson would rejoin them, but in vain. Meanwhile, his role as teacher would be filled by Elder Brewster.

Next day most of this close-knit fellowship made the canal passage together, moving through Delft, the Dutch capital and burial place of the martyred champion of religious freedom, William the Silent, and on to Delftshaven.

In a final remark on their departure from Leyden, Bradford gave them the name by which they would generations later become known to history:

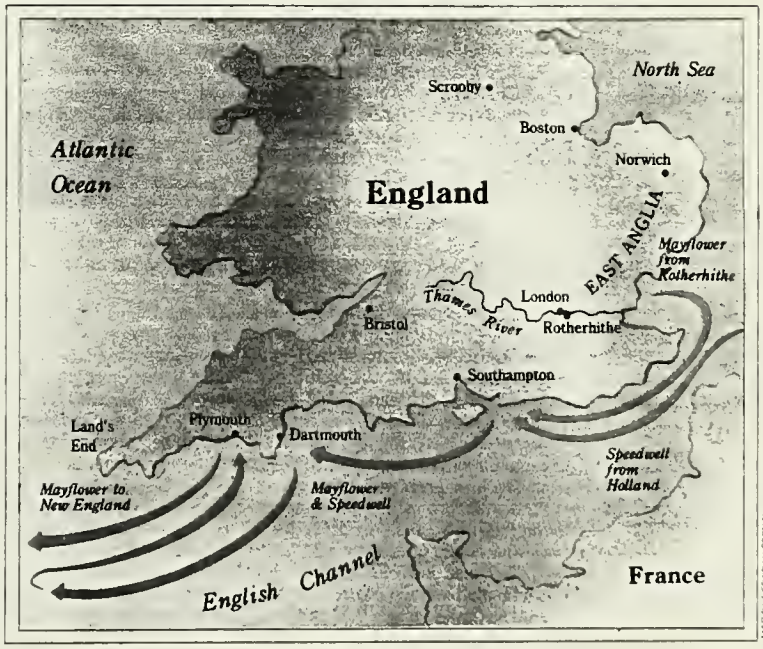
"They knew they were Pilgrims," he said, "and they looked not much back on the pleasant city that had sheltered them, but lift up their eyes to the heavens, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits." Their final hours with their friends — for most would never again see one another on earth — were poignantly described by Bradford:

"When they came to the place (Delftshaven), they found the ship and all things ready; and such of their friends as could not come (to the New World) with them, followed after them; and sundry also came from Amsterdam to see them shipped, and to take their leave of them.

"That night was spent with little sleep by the most; but with friendly entertainment, and Christian discourse, and other real expressions of true Christian love.

"The next day, the wind being fair, they went aboard and their friends with them; when truly doleful was the sight of that sad and mournful parting. To see what sighs and sobs and prayers did sound amongst them; what tears did gush from every eye, and pithy speeches pierced each heart: that sundry of the Dutch

MAP SHOWS ROUTES *SPEEDWELL* AND *MAYFLOWER* TOOK TO SOUTHAMPTON. SHIPS LATER RETURNED. FIRST TO DARTMOUTH, THEN TO PLYMOUTH. *MAYFLOWER* FINALLY SET OUT ALONE.



strangers that stood on the quay as spectator, could not refrain from tears.

"But the tide, which stays for no man, calling them away that were thus loath to depart; their reverend Pastor, falling down on his knees, and they all with him, with watery cheeks, commended them, with most fervent prayer, to the Lord and his blessing. And then, with mutual embraces and many tears, they took their leaves one of another; which proved to be the last leave to many of them."

A martial touch — for all ships, in fear of pirates, traveled armed in those days — was recalled by Winslow:

"We gave them a volley of small shot (musket fire) and of three pieces of ordnance. And so lifting up our hands to each other; and our hearts for each other to the Lord our God, we departed — and found His presence with us, in the midst of our manifold straits that He carried us through."

It was Saturday, July 22, 1620. The *Speedwell* went past the "Hook of Holland" at the mouth of the Maas, and across the North Sea to the English Channel. They had a "prosperous wind" and in a short time the small ship entered the great harbor of Southampton, where the Pilgrims found the *Mayflower* from London already berthed, and the Strangers who would make up the rest of their company.

There was "a joyful welcome and mutual congratulations," said Bradford, "with other friendly entertainments. . . ."

There were familiar faces: Carver and Cushman, so long away on months of negotiation and preparation; and most of all there was their elder, Brewster — though he was constrained to some disguise until distance should give him a feeling of security from sudden arrest.

This was the first meeting of the Pilgrims and the Strangers — men, women and children recruited mostly in and about London, East Anglia and the southeastern section of England.

For most of the Strangers, though they would become known as Pilgrim forefathers, the attractions offered by the adventurers were chiefly economic — a chance to own land, and to escape the poverty being spread in England by inflation and by farmers being forced from their land for the more profitable raising of sheep.

If all the hired hands and servants were excluded, the Strangers would come close to outnumbering the Pilgrims.

One of the Strangers was Capt. Myles Standish — in his mid-30s, a short, robust man with a florid countenance, a man who had served with the English volunteers fighting in Holland to aid the Dutch, and who would become the Pilgrims' celebrated military right arm in the New World. Two other Strangers would become assistant governors: Stephen Hopkins, who had already made one trip to the New World and had been shipwrecked in Bermuda; and Richard Warren, a London merchant.

The Strangers brought problems, too — in the form of the profane John Billington of London, whom the Pilgrims would have to hang a decade later for murder; and of two of Hopkins' young servants, who would fight a duel.

There were five hired hands: a cooper and four sailors. The cooper, a 21-year-old blond man from East Anglia, was John Alden. Alden would settle in the New World and marry the daughter of a Stranger, Priscilla Mullins, who would utter the legendary words to her hesitant lover, "Why don't you speak for yourself, John?"

The lean purse of the Pilgrims and the tightfisted behavior of the adventurers underscored the money problems at Southampton. These were compounded by differences that arose among the three men who had obtained the provisions — at three different places, a fact that had evoked the disapproval of Thomas Weston.

Especially disturbing to Cushman, who played the impossible role of diplomat, was the attitude of Christopher Martin. Martin, named a purchasing agent to represent the Strangers, had been chosen treasurer by the adventurers.

A stubborn man, Martin purchased freely, without consulting the Pilgrim agents, and drove the Pilgrims' financing into a muddle that years of effort would fail to clarify or correct.

Cushman said that nearly 700 pounds had been spent at Southampton, "upon what I know not." Martin, Cushman protested, "saith, he neither can, nor will, give any account of it. And if he is called upon for accounts, he crieth out of unthankfulness for his pains and care, that we are suspicious of him: and flings away. . . . Who will go and lay out money so rashly and lavishly as he did, and never know how he comes by it?"

Ominously the *Speedwell*, which had shown some sailing quirks on the passage from Holland, cut into the Pilgrims' skimpy funds. It had to be "twice trimmed at Southampton."

The worst moments at Southampton, though, came with the arrival of Thomas Weston, and with his efforts to get the emigrants to agree to the altered terms demanded by some of the adventurers in the seven-year contract. On this, the irascible Martin felt like the people from Leyden: The adventurers, Martin told Cushman, "were bloodsuckers!" (Martin must have meant this for all the others, for he had ventured 50 pounds himself.)

CAPT. JOHN SMITH, IN HIS *GENERALL HISTORIE*, wrote that the adventurers were about 70 in number — "some gentlemen, some merchants, some handycrafts men, some adventuring great sums, some small, as their estates and affection served." They were a voluntary combination, not a corporation, and "dwelt mostly about London."

The adventurers well knew, Smith said, that establishing a plantation could not be done "without charge, loss and crosses." Many would "adventure no more," because the general stock had already cost 7000 pounds.

Weston, clearly not an entirely free agent, was "much offended" when the Pilgrims told him that he knew right well the original terms, and that their agents had been enjoined when they left Leyden not to agree to any new terms "without the consent of the rest that were behind." And when they told him that the enterprise needed "well near 100 pounds" to clear Southampton, Weston told them that he would not dispense another penny. He promptly headed back to London, telling the Pilgrims angrily that they could now "stand on their own legs."

After a discussion, the conscientious Pilgrims wrote a letter to the merchants and adventurers making a new offer.

They expressed their sorrow that "any difference at all be conceived between us." They said that the possibility of owning their own houses and lands "was one special motive, amongst many others, to provoke us to go," and that they had never given Cushman assent to make the change designating such property part of the company's stock. Still, they offered "that if large profits should not arise within the seven years, that we will continue together longer with you, if the Lord give a blessing."

They understood, they said, that three-fourths of the adventurers were not insisting on the harsher terms; and as for their own plight:

"We are in such strait at present as we are forced to sell away 60 pounds worth of our provisions, to clear the haven (the port); and withal put ourselves upon great extremities; scarce having any butter, no oil, not a sole to mend a shoe, nor every man a sword to his side; wanting (lacking) many muskets, much armor, etc. And yet we are willing to expose ourselves to such eminent dangers as are likely to ensue, and trust to the good Providence of God. . . ."

Capt. Smith, a tireless promoter of plantations in New England, later put in perspective what the Pilgrims were about to do. Since his explorations in New England in 1614, Smith wrote, the region's fame had grown so "that 30, 40, or 50 sail went yearly; only to trade and fish.

"But nothing would be done for a plantation till about some 100 of your Brownists of England, Amsterdam and Leyden, went to New Plymouth: whose humorous ignorances caused them, for more than a year, to endure a wonderful deal of misery with an infinite patience; saying my book and maps were much better cheap to teach them than myself."

Smith had offered his services to the Pilgrims and had been turned down. After all, they did not think they were headed for New England; and Weston and Cushman had already hired pilots who had been to America. Anyway, they did indeed have Smith's book and maps.

Departure this time included no farewells from friends.

A governor, with two or three assistants, was chosen for both of the vessels "to order the people . . . and to see to the disposing

WESTGATE IN SOUTHAMPTON LEADS TO WEST QUAY, FROM WHICH PILGRIMS SAILED.

PLAQUE ON WESTGATE RECALLS EVENT, WHICH WAS FIRST OF PILGRIMS' TWO FALSE STARTS ACROSS ATLANTIC.

ot with most of their brethren out of ye citie, unto a towne sundrie miles of called Delfes-Hauen wher the ship lay ready to receive them. So they left ye goodly & pleasante citie, which had been their resting place nere 12 years; but they knew they were pilgrimes & looked not much on those things, but lift up their eyes to ye heavens, their dearest cuntrie; and quieted their spirits. When they came

STATE LIBRARY AND THE ARCHIVES MUSEUM

PILGRIM HALL, PLYMOUTH, MASS.

DESCRIPTION "PILGRIMS" WAS FIRST USED BY BRADFORD IN TELLING OF DEPARTURE FROM LEYDEN. TERM DID NOT COME INTO GENERAL USE FOR MANY DECADES.

SLIP IN FRONT OF *OUDE KERK* (OLD CHURCH), DELFTSHAVEN, WHERE PILGRIMS BOARDED *SPEEDWELL* JULY 22, 1620.

PILGRIMS ARE DEPICTED HOLDING SERVICE PRIOR TO DEPARTURE FROM DELFTSHAVEN FOR SOUTHAMPTON.

of the provisions and such like affairs." All this was agreeable to the skippers of the ships. Martin was chosen for the *Mayflower*, Cushman for the *Speedwell*.

About the only ceremony was a calling together of all the company to hear a letter that had arrived from Rev. Robinson. He wished he could be with them. He had final words of advice, especially that, since they were about to govern their own affairs, they choose people who "do entirely love and will promote the common good . . . yielding unto them all due honor and obedience in their lawful administrations. . . ."

The two vessels sailed Aug. 5 — belatedly, but not yet disastrously late if all would soon go well.

But they had not gone far before Master Reynolds found the *Speedwell* so leaky that "he durst not put further to sea till she was mended." He signaled Master Christopher Jones of the *Mayflower*, and came aboard the larger vessel to confer, and they decided to put into the port of Dartmouth for repairs.

Reynolds had abundant grounds for concern. Cushman, feeling ill, was deeply disturbed about trying to justify his action accepting the oppressive seven-year contract, and further upset by Martin's high-handed treatment of the Pilgrims and sailors aboard the *Mayflower*. He wrote of his troubles to a friend in London, and also told about the *Speedwell's* shocking condition:

"She is as open and leaky as a sieve; and there was a board, two foot long, a man might have pulled off with his fingers, where the water came in as at a mole hole. . . . If we had stayed at sea but three or four hours more she would have sunk right down."

Earlier, the need to trim the *Speedwell* twice at Southampton had consumed an extra week of fair weather. "Now we lie here waiting for her in as fair a wind as can blow. . . . Our victuals will be half eaten up, I think, before we go from the coast of England, and if our voyage last long, we shall not have a month's victuals when we come in the country."

Bradford said that the *Speedwell* was "thoroughly searched from stem to stern, some leaks were found and mended, and now it was conceived by the workmen and all, that she was sufficient, and they might proceed without either fear or danger." They set out again on Aug. 23 "with good hopes."

But all was not well. By the time they were more than 100 leagues (roughly 300 miles) at sea — well into the Atlantic and far beyond Land's End — Master Reynolds again signaled for a conference. Frantic pumping could "barely keep up with the leaks" in the *Speedwell*. Reynolds said he must "bear up or sink at sea." So they turned back and put into the nearest big port, Plymouth Harbor, where they were certain to obtain expert help.

This harbor, in the western part of England and the English Channel, had long been famous in England's wars, seafaring and worldwide exploration. The governor of both the fort and port was a man of ancient English lineage, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, one of the foremost champions of plantations in the New World.

Gorges, now in his mid-50s, was a soldier — knighted by the earl of Essex on the battlefield — and a courtier with considerable influence with King James. At the very moment the Pilgrims arrived in the port, Gorges had pending before the Privy Council his request for a new charter to convert the old Virginia Company of Plymouth into the Council for New England.

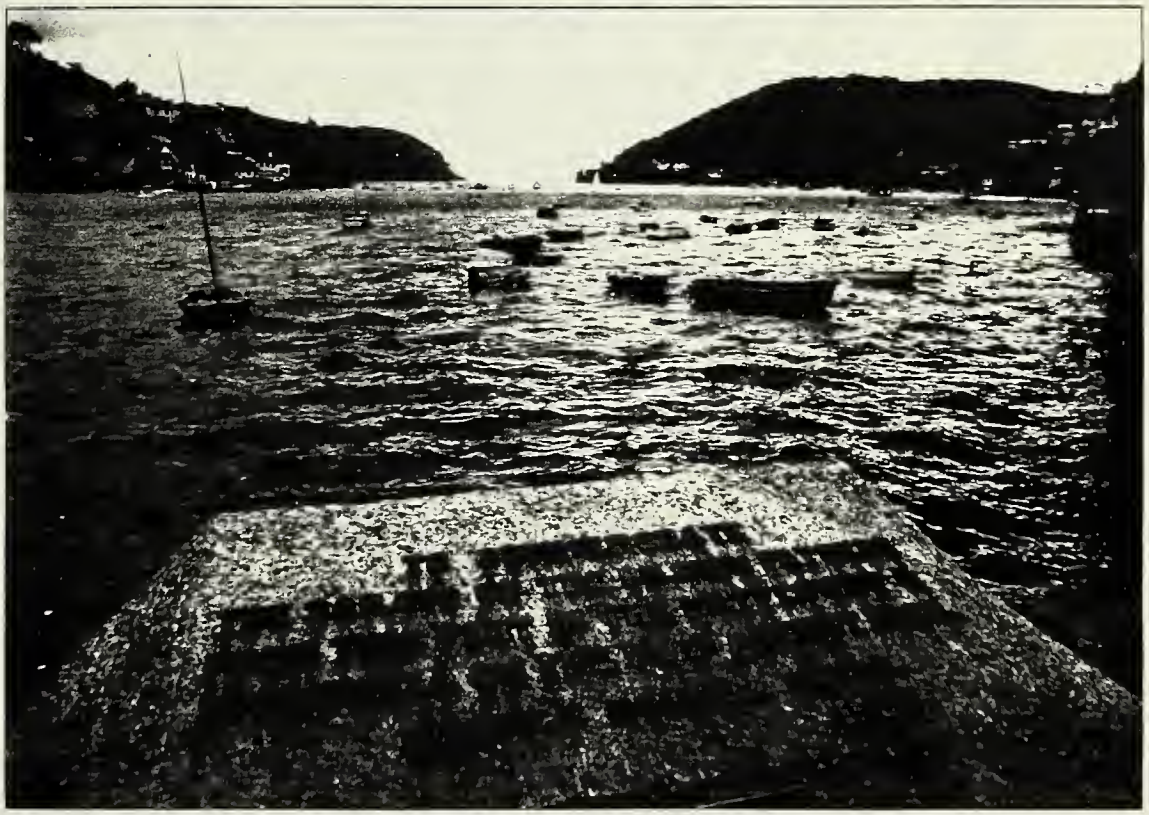
No one would be happier than Gorges at the sight of these two vessels entering his harbor — vessels intending a voyage to the New World to begin a plantation. This was something Gorges had been trying to achieve since the beginning of the century, when a returning explorer, George Weymouth, presented him with some Indians — an event that aroused Gorges' hopes of using the Indians as interpreters and guides in founding colonies.

Gorges, who would become known as the "Father of Maine"

MEMORIAL TOWER, SOUTHAMPTON, ENGLAND. DETAIL OF TOP OF MONUMENT (RIGHT) SHOWS MODEL OF *MAYFLOWER*.

MERCHANT'S HOUSE WHERE PILGRIMS WERE ENTERTAINED WHILE IN PLYMOUTH, ENGLAND.

BAYARD'S COVE, DARTMOUTH, ENGLAND, FROM WHICH *MAYFLOWER* AND *SPEEDWELL* (AFTER LATTER WAS REPAIRED) SAILED AUG. 23, 1620, ON PILGRIMS' SECOND ATTEMPT TO CROSS ATLANTIC.



though he would not personally ever set foot in America, had steadfastly persisted in his efforts despite repeated and costly failures. Right now, he was being forwarded reports from the explorer-trader-agent, Capt. Thomas Dermer, whom he had sent to the Plymouth area marked on Capt. Smith's map — the identical area where these Pilgrims would by chance establish New England's first permanent English plantation.

The Pilgrims were well received by Gorges' people and by the townspeople while the *Speedwell* was examined once again. The finding, though, was not good.

"No special leak could be found," said Bradford, "but it was judged to be the general weakness of the ship, and that she would not prove sufficient for the voyage. Upon which it was resolved to dismiss her and part of the company, and proceed with the other ship. The which, though it was grievous and caused great discouragement, was put in execution."

Provisions and supplies had to be transferred from the *Speedwell*'s hold to the *Mayflower*. The worst wrench was that the number of passengers had to be reduced by 20. Still, as Bradford observed, "those that went back were for the most part such as were willing so to do, either out of some discontent or fear they conceived of the ill success of the voyage. . . ."

Among them was Cushman, still ill, and feeling the unmerited harassment that he was bearing "like a bundle of lead . . . crushing my heart." Bradford in his journals quoted Cushman, in a letter to a friend in London, as seeing "the dangers of this voyage [as] . . . no less than deadly. . . . If ever we make a plantation, God works a miracle!" Such, said Bradford, were Cushman's fears at Dartmouth; and, he added, "They must needs be much stronger now. . . ."

This was severe on Cushman. Bradford was equally severe on Master Reynolds. Bradford agreed that overmasting — putting excessively large masts into the reconditioned *Speedwell* — had naturally opened its seams when the ship was under heavy sail. But he suspected that Reynolds had done this deliberately when supplies seemed to be falling low, so that he and the crew, signed on for a year, could get out of their contract. In after years, Bradford noted, once the *Speedwell* was refitted she "made many voyages . . . to the great profit of her owner. . . ."

Overall, the *Speedwell* venture had turned out ruinously in loss of time; and this loss, protracting the Pilgrims' passage into the raging autumnal storms of the Atlantic, would contribute to exacting a dreadful toll in lives of the brave men and women and children — and tragically as well in those of the crew.

Already it was some 45 days since they had left Holland — sufficient time to have completed a normal crossing of the Atlantic — and the Pilgrims only now saw the sails raised and the vessel about to depart from Plymouth Harbor.

It was Sept 6.

They had, said Bradford, "a prosperous wind which continued divers days together" as their passage resumed. Many, though, were shortly "afflicted with seasickness."

Soon they again passed Land's End and the Isles of Scilly. They were beyond the English Channel. Ahead of them — the only thing between them and the New World — was the Atlantic Ocean, a vast, awesome expanse.

To most of these essentially plain farm folks, their real transport was more their faith in God than their vessel.

And of this faraway land they hoped to reach, their future home, what was known to these Pilgrims in the year 1620? What had been discovered?

IN HIS DIARIES, BRADFORD TOLD OF EXPLORATIONS in future New England, in particular mentioning explorers Bartholomew Gosnold, who in 1602 christened Cape Cod — where the Pilgrims would make their first New World landfall — and Thomas Dermer, who visited the future Plymouth at Gorges' behest "but four months" before the Pilgrims would arrive there.

One explorer, 23-year-old Martin Pring, began voyaging to America in 1603. He made landfall in present Maine, then came down the coast to future Plymouth, which the Patuxet Indians called Accomack. Unlike the Pilgrims, he found no dearth of Indians. They came, he said in a later account, "sometimes 10, 20, 40 or threescore, and at one time 120 at once. . . ."

By the time the next major English explorer, Capt. Smith, came to the same harbor in 1614, England had its first colony in North America, struggling and suffering Jamestown. Smith had been part of that colony, serving as its governor and, later, as its historian.

Now, however, he was on an expedition of two ships, financed by four London merchants, with orders "to take whales and make trials of a mine of gold and copper." They chased, but could catch no whales. There were no mines, either, so they turned to fish and furs. While thirty-seven of his crew fished off Maine's Monhegan Island, Smith and eight or nine sailors ranged the coast, trading for beaver, marten and otter skins.

On this famous exploration of the coast from the Penobscot River in Maine to the tip of Cape Cod, Smith found the Indians were friendly in general; and even after a scrap at future Plymouth, all again "became friends." In his search he found, he said: "Not one Christian in all the land."

Smith's records have told us of "a vile act" that occurred after he started back to England. The captain of the other ship in the expedition, Thomas Hunt, tried slaving on his own. He took seven Nauset Indians and twenty Patuxets, the latter at future Plymouth, and sold them as slaves in Spain. (Monks at Malaga later purchased the Indians their freedom.)

Although he was blacklisted from future employment in England, Hunt's slaving brought retaliatory misery to later seafarers coming to the New England coast. For the Pilgrims six years later, it would bring difficulty and anxiety.

Ironically, though, Hunt's despicable behavior preserved the life of an Indian vital to the Pilgrims, Squanto, later described by Bradford as "a special instrument sent by God" to help the new inhabitants. Squanto, also known as Tisquantum, was among the Patuxets kidnaped by Hunt — and thus he was saved from the plague that would destroy all other members of his tribe.

In 1617 Capt. Dermer, who had been on several voyages to the New World, was in Newfoundland as Gorges' agent when he encountered Squanto, who was trying to get back to his kin at Accomack (Plymouth). Dermer at once saw an opportunity to help colonization. With the consenting Squanto, he headed back across the Atlantic to Plymouth, England, to consult Gorges.

As Bradford would at a later date, Gorges saw Squanto as help from Heaven. "It pleased God so to work for our encouragement again," said Gorges, "as he sent into our hands Tisquantum . . . formerly betrayed by this unworthy Hunt." Thus, said Gorges, "there was hope conceived to work a peace between us and his friends, they being the principal inhabitants of that coast. . . ."

Gorges accordingly dispatched Dermer in 1619, along with Squanto, to join others of Gorges' ships in New England. While most of his men and boys fished off Monhegan Island, Dermer set off on May 19 in a five-ton pinnace to explore the coast. He took five or six crewmen with him, and Squanto as his guide.

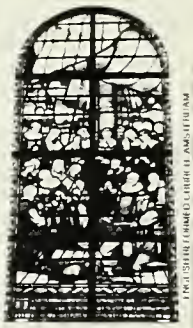
"I passed alongst the coast where I found some ancient plantations, not long since populous, now utterly void; in other places a remnant remains, but not free of sickness. Their disease: the plague, for we might perceive the sores of some that had escaped, who described the spots of such as usually die," Dermer wrote to England.

Smith, telling of Dermer's experience and of the reports he had received — presumably from some of Dermer's crew — saw the effect of the mysterious plague as an advantage to prospective planters. "God," said Smith, "had laid this country open to us, and slain most part of the inhabitants by cruel wars and a mortal disease; for where I had seen 100 or 200 people there is scarce 10 to be found."

For Squanto, there were to be no kin to give him a homecoming. When he and Dermer arrived at the seat of the Patuxet tribe, where the Pilgrims would finally find asylum, they found "all dead." Their cleared, untended lands at the head of Plymouth Harbor, as Smith suggested, awaited newcomers.

Of this place Dermer — who after wintering in Southern Virginia made a second trip to future Plymouth just a few weeks before the Pilgrims left Delftshaven — wrote to Gorges:

"I would that the first plantation might here be seated."



REV. ROBINSON DEPICTED LEADING PILGRIMS IN PRAYER ON *SPEEDWELL* IN DELFTSHAVEN.

ISLAND HOUSE IN PLYMOUTH, ENGLAND, WAS ANOTHER PLACE WHERE PILGRIMS WERE ENTERTAINED WHILE AWAITING SHIP REPAIRS.

CHAPTER
· VIII ·

After 65 days at sea, a cry of 'Land ho!'

The Pilgrims anchor off the tip of Cape Cod, grateful to God to have survived dreadful overcrowding, fearsome gales and a near wreck.

A canny old seadog like Master Christopher Jones could quickly catch the reassuring signs that the *Mayflower* was approaching land.

The crude instruments of his era left annoyingly uncertain the distance that the ship travelled each day. But near journey's end — when the leadsman's line, plunging fathoms below, touched seabed — he knew the coastline could not be many miles away. Then the ocean color turned from sea blue to green, and there were old hands who even claimed they could at last smell the still unseen land.

It was daybreak, Nov. 9 — the 65th day since the *Mayflower* had left Plymouth, England, and more than three anxious months since the Pilgrims had bidden farewell at Delftshaven.

Suddenly there came a shout from the lookout: "Land ho!"

For those rushing on deck, the lookout stretched his arm toward the bluff above the shoreline that he had glimpsed over the ship's starboard bow.

The Pilgrim leaders described the scene most simply in *Mourt's Relation*, their first published account:

"By break of the day we espied land. . . ."

Tears of relief, joy and wonder came to many eyes as they looked toward the northwest — or gratefully to Heaven.

"The appearance of it much comforted us, especially seeing so goodly a land, and wooded to the brink of the sea. It caused us to rejoice together, and praise God that had given us once again to see land."

Jones held a conference with the Pilgrim leaders. He had been roughly following the 42nd parallel toward land and felt certain that he was off Cape Cod. Explorers and skippers had been this way and he knew some of their tales. The highlands of the future Truro, 10 miles to the northwestward, were visible — an unmistakable Cape Cod landmark. The *Mayflower* was moving a safe distance off the beach along what is called the back side of the Cape.

This landfall, most significantly, was quite a bit to the northward of the area in which the Pilgrims were entitled to settle under the patent in their possession. So, after consultation, Jones tacked about and headed the *Mayflower* southward for the intended destination in Northern Virginia — or, as Bradford related it, "to find some place about Hudson's River for their habitation." Both wind and weather were fair.

As the excited passengers saw the land and were assured that it was without doubt Cape Cod, "They were not a little joyful," as Bradford observed.

They surely had reasons in abundance.

Bradford, in all the wonderful history he would write years later from his eyewitness notes, did not mention the name of the vessel of which Jones was master. Still, in relating the emotion-filled departure of the Pilgrims from Leyden on the *Speedwell*, Bradford did say that another vessel had been hired at London "of burthen about 9 score." The records of Plymouth colony leave no doubt that this was the *Mayflower* of London, of 180 tons.

No plan and no picture of the *Mayflower* exist. Still, London Port books and Admiralty Court records of the period provide facts about the ship and her master.

A typical three-masted, square-rigged merchantman of the *Mayflower*'s time and tonnage would be roughly 90 feet overall, with a beam of 26 feet.

Jones, who was part owner, had been the ship's skipper as far back as at least a dozen years, hauling cargo between England and the Baltic Sea and the Bay of Biscay. Often this cargo was wine.

Besides the 102 passengers who crowded together on the *Mayflower* after the leaky *Speedwell* turned back, Jones had a crew of some 20 to 30 men. Their quarters would have been on the main, or top deck — the officers on the quarterdeck aft and the crew forward in the forecastle.

Unless Jones, who was a considerate man, and his officers had extra tiers of bunks put in part of the steerage and poop house — quarters which these officers would normally use — all 102 passengers would have had to squeeze themselves into the gun deck below, just over the vessel's hold.

We do know that there was crowding. The Pilgrims' shallop or small sailing craft, had been broken down so that it could be carried on the gun deck. We know the shallop was used as emergency bunk space, possibly by as many as two dozen passengers — an unusual usage that would shortly force a loss of precious time when the boat had to be put back into repair.

Even a brief visit to Plimoth Plantation's *Mayflower* replica, the *Mayflower II*, most often docked in Plymouth Harbor close by Plymouth Rock, will vividly demonstrate how crowded the passage must have been — with the passengers and their two dogs, a large mastiff and a small spaniel, packed onto the gun deck with its very low overhead.

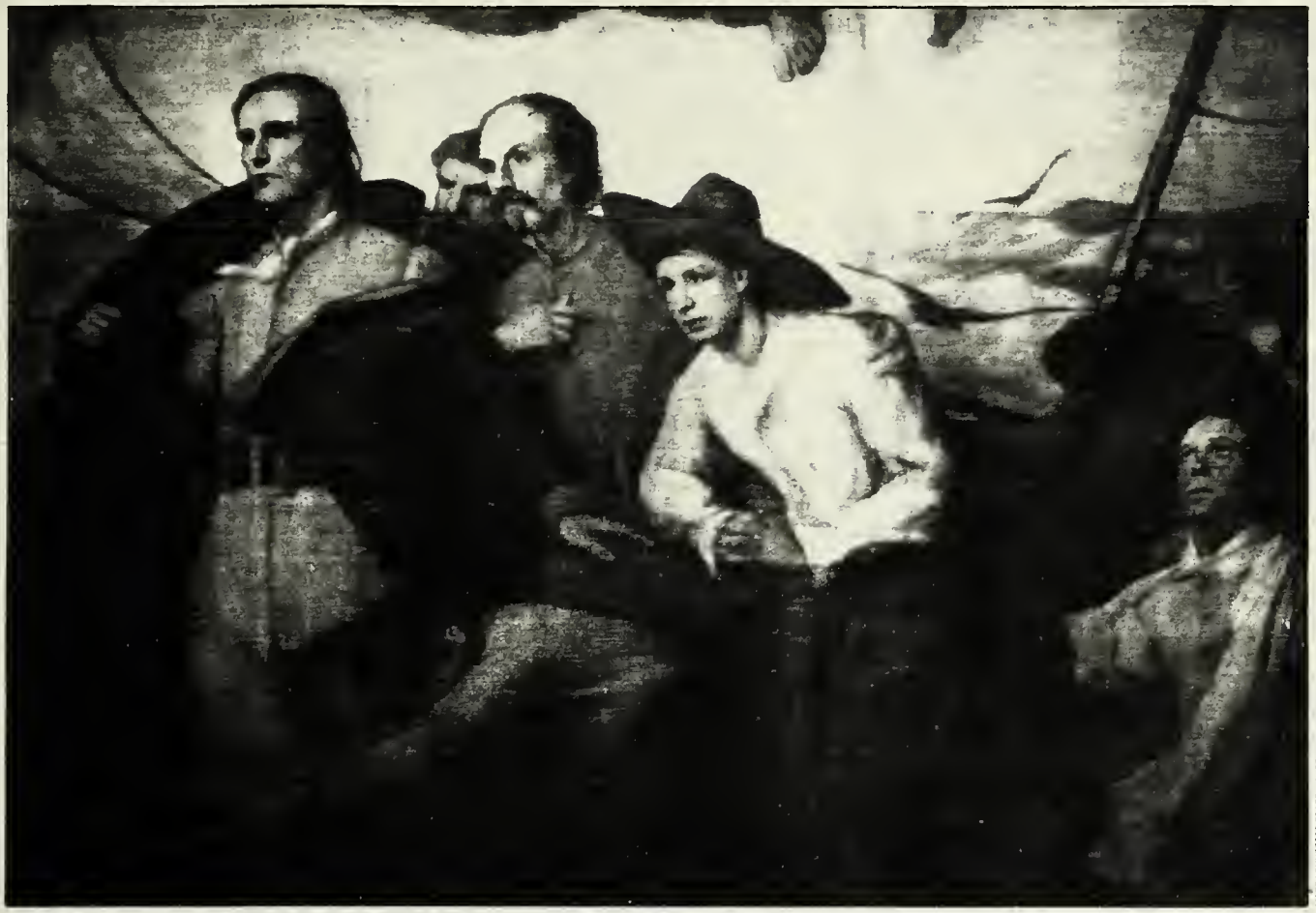
Privacy, if possible at all, was minimal. Three of the women were pregnant and certainly, at the time of departure from Plymouth, England, had some reason to feel that they might encounter childbirth at sea. Thirty-two of the passengers were children, some of them babes in arms. There were eighteen couples, some of whom had left children in Holland or England; eight other married men had left behind their wives. The passengers also included single men, mostly hired hands and servants, and eleven unmarried women.

Comforts aboard were few. There was no plumbing; the *Mayflower*'s nettings, or buckets which were emptied overboard, had to serve. Water for washing — save seawater — was extremely limited. Changes of clothing were rare even when clothes were wet, as they often must have been. Heat was scanty, even in the crew's galley. Food was chiefly hardtack (a hard biscuit), salted pork and beef, cheese, dried beans and peas. For drink there were chiefly water, even if a bit slimy, and beer.

When storms with howling winds were raging across the Atlantic, as often they did, and the hatches were covered and the gunports closed, the atmosphere on the lantern-lighted, heavy gun deck of even a ship called "sweet" — a legacy of its wine carrying career — must have been odiferous as well as terrifying.

No *Mayflower* log exists, and Bradford, who said he was seeing to be brief, told of only a few happenings on the voyage.

Soon after the departure from Plymouth, he reported, "many were afflicted with seasickness." But of more interest to Bradford



MASSACHUSETTS STATE HOUSE

PILGRIM HALL, PLYMOUTH, MASS.

A
RELATION OR
Iournall of the beginning and proceedings
of the English Plantation ſetled at *Plimoth* in NEW
ENGLAND, by certaine English Aduenturers both
Merchants and others.

With their difficult paſſage, their ſafe ariuall, their
ioyfull building of, and comfortable planting them-
ſelues in the now well defended Towne
of NEW PLIMOTH.

AS ALSO A RELATION OF FOVRE
ſeuerall diſcoueries ſince made by ſome of the
ſame English Planters there reſident.

I. In a iourney to PVCKANOKICK *the habitation of the Indian great-*
eſt King Maſſaſoyt : *as alſo their meſſage, the anſwer and entertainment*
they had of him.
II. In a voyage made by ten of them to the Kingdome of Nawſet, *to ſeeke*
a boy that had loſt himſelfe in the woods : with ſuch accidents as befell them-
in that voyage.
III. In their iourney to the Kingdome of Namaſchet, *in defence of their*
greateſt King Maſſaſoyt, *againſt the* Narrohiggonſets, *and to reuenge the*
ſuppoſed death of their Interpreter Tiſquantum.
IIII. Their voyage to the Maſſachuſets, *and their entertainment there.*

With an anſwer to all ſuch obiections as are any way made
againſt the lawfulneſſe of Engliſh plantations
in thoſe parts.

LONDON,
Printed for *Iohn Bellamie*, and are to be ſold at his ſhop at the two
Greyhounds in Cornhill neere the Royall Exchange. 1622.

PILGRIM HALL, PLYMOUTH, MASS.

PILGRIMS (ABOVE) EN ROUTE TO NEW WORLD ABOARD *MAYFLOWER*. THEIR TRIP, MUCH LONGER THAN NORMAL, TOOK 65 DAYS.

SIGNING OF MAYFLOWER COMPACT, AGREEMENT INTENDED TO PRESERVE "UNITY AND CONCORD" IN COLONY.

TITLE PAGE OF FIRST BOOK ABOUT PLYMOUTH COLONY, NAMED FOR A "G. MOURT" CITED IN PREFACE.

was a "special work of God's Providence" in solving another affliction the Pilgrims early encountered on shipboard: scorn and abuse from some of the crew toward these humble passengers, who were given to praying and psalm-singing.

"A proud and very profane young man, one of the seamen, of a lusty, able body . . . would always be contemning the poor people in their sickness and cursing them daily with grievous execrations." He never let up telling them that "he hoped to help to cast half of them overboard before they came to their journey's end . . . and if he were by any gently reproved, he would curse and swear most bitterly.

"But it pleased God before they came half seas over," said Bradford, "to smite this young man with a grievous disease, of which he died in a desperate manner, and so was himself the first that was thrown overboard. Thus his curses light on his own head, and it was an astonishment to all his fellows for they noted it to be the just hand of God upon him."

The most shocking moments came in mid-Atlantic. The Pilgrims had enjoyed "fair winds and weather for a season," but then many times there came "cross winds and . . . many fierce storms with which the ship was shroudly (severely) shaken and the upper works made very leaky; and one of the main beams in the midships was bowed and cracked, which put them in some fear that the ship could not be able to perform the voyage."

Jones, his officers and the Pilgrims gathered in "serious consultation." Should they turn back? The sailors were divided; some were "loath to hazard their lives too desperately." But Jones knew that his ship had weathered many a crisis. He was positive that the *Mayflower*, despite its being leaky above, was "strong and firm under water."

The Pilgrims on leaving Holland had brought along "a great iron screw" intended for help in raising pioneer dwellings. The broken beam was braced. The leaky deck was caulked.

The travelers were confronted, though, with more loss of precious time. Jones well knew there would be danger if he tried to hoist too much sail. And so, said Bradford, "they committed themselves to the will of God and resolved to proceed."

They encountered several more storms, some with winds "so fierce and the seas so high as they could not bear a knot of sail, but were forced to hull (drift) for divers days together." Indeed, this would bring the *Mayflower*'s overall speed for the passage down to less than two nautical miles an hour.

On the voyage across the Atlantic one birth and one death occurred among the passengers. A son, aptly called Oceanus, became the fourth child of the largest family aboard, that of Elizabeth and Stephen Hopkins, recruited in London. The passenger who died was a 22-year-old indentured servant of Samuel Fuller, William Butten, who hailed from Bradford's village of Austerfield. Butten died Nov. 6, less than a week before the Pilgrims caught sight of Cape Cod.

The *Mayflower*, in the passage south along the back side of the Cape toward the Hudson River, had proceeded "about half a day" when suddenly, despite the weather's being fair, "they fell amongst dangerous shoals and roaring breakers."

Once again, as when the beam cracked in mid-ocean, the *Mayflower* was in deadly peril. The ship had come to the shoals of Pollock Rip off Monomoy Point, southernmost part of Cape Cod and one of the Atlantic coast's most dangerous sections, then uncharted and unmarked.

Even the great skill of a seasoned skipper such as Jones would have been inadequate to save the courageous Pilgrims from shipwreck had not the wind turned "contrary" with the coming of night. Jones was able to bring the *Mayflower* about, take her off the shoals back into deep water, and head back north.

The Pilgrims, as Bradford recounted, had "resolved to bear up again for the Cape and thought themselves happy to get out of those dangers before night overtook them, as by God's good Providence they did."

The Cape Cod harbor, now Provincetown Harbor, toward which Jones maneuvered for hopefully safe anchorage was up the 50-mile length of the back side of the Cape. But arrival there would confront the Pilgrims with a profound legal problem. The harbor, as Bradford noted, was not the permitted destination covered by their patent, for the *Mayflower*'s heading would bring them to Capt. John Smith's "New England."

As the *Mayflower* sailed steadily northward on Nov. 10, some of the Strangers began making "discontented and mutinous speeches . . . that when they came ashore they would use their own liberty, for none had power to command them." The Pilgrim leaders promptly moved to quell this danger by drawing upon their own church experience in self-government and the drafting of covenants.

STATUE OF CAPT. JOHN SMITH AT ST. MARY-LE-BOW CHURCH IN CHEAPSIDE, LONDON, WHERE HE WAS A PARISHIONER.

WE DO NOT KNOW WHO WROTE THE MAYflower Compact. Only Elder Brewster, among all the Pilgrim leaders, was a university man. The Pilgrim writers best known to us are William Bradford and Edward Winslow, whose writings, first combined from their journals in *Mourt's Relation*, are the chief source of Pilgrim history.

In any case, much of Nov. 10's sail must have been devoted to discussion and preparation of the compact. The Pilgrims, after the sacrifices they had already made, wanted to be certain beyond all doubt that law and order — "unity and concord" — would prevail once they reached shore. To assure this, the compact was signed on shipboard before anyone disembarked. This was on the morning of Nov. 11, the morning that the *Mayflower* came around Long Point and Master Jones ordered the anchor dropped "lesse than a furlong" — an eighth of a mile — from the point.

The compact declared that they were forming "a civil body politic" to which all signers promised "due submission and obedience" while carrying out the purpose of their "voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia" — an objective they had undertaken "for the Glory of God and advancement of the Christian Faith and Honor and our King and Country."

Until such time as they could get another patent, which John Peirce would obtain on June 1, 1621, from Sir Ferdinando Gorges and the Council for New England — the organization that was being formed as the *Mayflower* was leaving England — the compact would be their only source of authority. Indeed, said Bradford, it was "the first foundation of their government" in the New World. Under it they pledged to enact and frame:

"Such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony."

Forty-one of the passengers signed the compact that morning, including all thirty-four men among both Pilgrims and Strangers, three of the five hired hands and four adult indentured servants. That done, they confirmed that John Carver, who had replaced Christopher Martin as governor of the *Mayflower* for the voyage, would be their governor until next New Year's Day, which under the old-style calendar then in use would be March 25, 1621. Carver, 55, had been a deacon of the Leyden church since 1617.

How eagerly and anxiously Pilgrim eyes must have scanned the harbor setting and the shore as Jones brought the *Mayflower* to anchor. In one of the most emotion-filled passages of all his writings, Bradford told how he could not but "stand half amazed at this poor people's present condition. . . .

"Being thus passed the vast ocean, and a sea of troubles before in their preparation . . . they had now no friends to welcome them nor inns to entertain or refresh their weatherbeaten bodies; no houses or much less towns to repair to, to seek for succour. . . .

"And for the season it was winter, and they that know the winters of that country know them to be sharp and violent, and subject to cruel and fierce storms, dangerous to travel to known places, much more to search an unknown coast.

"Besides, what could they see but a hideous and desolate wilderness, full of beasts and wild men — and what multitudes there might be of them they knew not. . . .

"For summer being done, all things stand upon them with a weatherbeaten face, and the whole country, full of woods and thickets, represented a wild and savage hue. If they looked behind them, there was the mighty ocean which they had passed and was now as a main bar and gulf to separate them from all the civil parts of the world. . . .

"What could now sustain them but the spirit of God and His grace?"

Urgent explorations for a place to settle

Colonists' expeditions, marked by severe storms and an Indian assault, lead at length to the choice of Plymouth as their permanent home.

CHAPTER
· IX ·

At last in a "good harbor and brought safe to land," said Bradford, the Pilgrims "fell upon their knees and blessed the God of Heaven who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean, and delivered them from all the perils and miseries thereof, again to set their feet on the firm and stable earth, their proper element."

The longboat was put over the side of the *Mayflower* and a landing party of 15 or 16 armed men headed for shore. But the boat could not get to the beach and the men, weighted down with their armor and carrying axes to use in replenishing the ship's exhausted wood supply, were forced "to wade a bowshot or two on going aland" — at least knee-deep in cold November seawater.

They were pleased with the large size of the harbor and with the wooded shore. "There was the greatest store of fowl that ever we saw" and whales were "playing hard by us."

The group climbed the highland where now the Pilgrim Monument towers, and saw the other, ocean side of the Cape, which reminded them of the dunes in Holland. Before returning that night to the *Mayflower* they "laded their boat with juniper," a chore that must have involved a lot of wading, for the sweet-smelling supply lasted the whole time the *Mayflower* was moored in this harbor.

They were deeply anxious to meet any inhabitants — potential future neighbors — but saw neither Indians nor any sign of Indian habitation.

The next day, a Sunday, was the Lord's Day to the Pilgrims and they observed it in their customarily devout fashion despite the time pressures upon them.

Ever since they had dropped anchor, Master Jones and the crew had been urging that "with speed they should look out a place." Jones did not want to leave until his passengers were out of danger, but he had to keep a share of the diminishing food supply for his return trip.

The following day, the Pilgrims went ashore "to refresh themselves and our women to wash, as they had great need." Thus did Monday as washday become a longtime New England tradition. While the women scrubbed, the men fetched ashore the sections of the shallop, which was "bruised and battered . . . much opened with the people's lying in her."

The carpenters went to work to reassemble the craft on the beach. As with the *Mayflower,* no plan of the shallop exists. From its use in exploration and the number of passengers that would sail in the craft, it appears that the shallop — with a single mast, mainsail and jib — was between 20 and 30 feet long, with a beam of 7 to 9 feet.

When it seemed that repair might take five or six days — actually, it would take much longer — some of the Pilgrims, "impatient of delay," desired to explore the shore despite the fact that without the shallop they would have to carry provisions on their backs.

Under solicitous instruction "to be out but two days," 16 volunteers — "with every man his musket, sword and corslet (armor for the upper body)" — were put ashore on Nov. 15 and set off under their military leader, short, stout-hearted Myles Standish.

This was to be the first of three exploratory expeditions undertaken by the Pilgrims before, more than a month later — after many hardships, deadly exposure to the elements, Indian attack, tragic deaths and the near wreck of the shallop in a storm — the *Mayflower* would sail west across Cape Cod Bay and anchor in the harbor of the final choice for their plantation.

Standish and his men had gone about a mile along the beach when they spotted five or six men and a dog. At first they thought these might be Jones and some of his crew, who were also ashore. When they realized that they were seeing Indians, they sought eagerly to meet with them. But the Indians, far fleeter than the armor-clad Pilgrims, ran away.

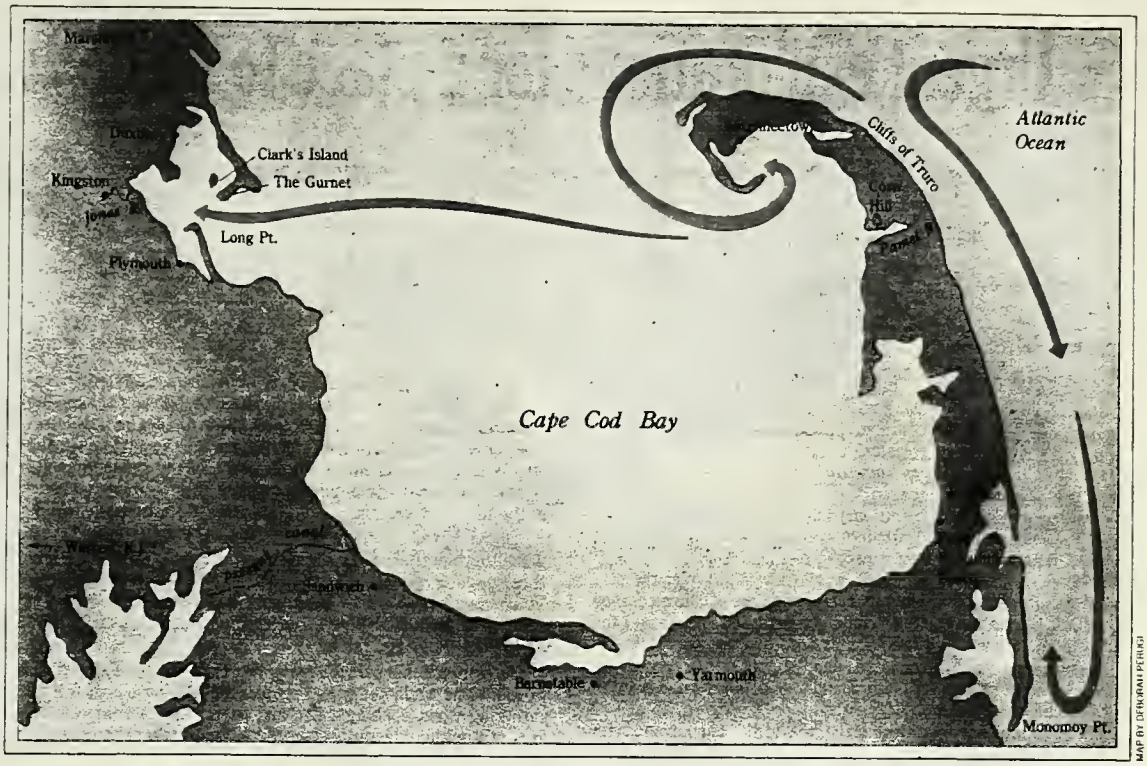
After more miles of following footprints on sand and trails in woods, to no avail, the group prepared a lodging for the night — gathering wood, making a fire and posting three sentinels. Next day, still within the future town of Truro, they resumed their trailing. They had brought only biscuits, Holland cheese and a little bottle of aqua vitae (liquor), and soon, having no water or beer, they were "sore athirst." Presently, in midmorning, they spotted a deer and came upon springs of fresh water. Here, they "drunk our first New England water with as much delight as ever we drunk drink in all our lives."

Thinking then of the folks on the *Mayflower,* they headed for the beach and made a fire to signal back that all was well.

On first coming into harbor, Jones had spotted to the southeastward what appeared to be a river opening in the mainland. The Pilgrims struck out southward to find it. En route, they came upon none of the inhabitants they were hoping to meet but found evidence aplenty that this was Indian terrain. Near present Pond Village, they saw acres where the Indians had formerly planted corn and found Indian graves. They also discovered planks where

FIRST LANDING AT TIP OF CAPE COD, WHERE PILGRIMS HAD TO WADE ASHORE IN ICY WATER.

BY A. I. WHITTAKER, PILGRIM MONUMENT MUSEUM, PROVINCETOWN



MAP BY DEWKAR PERIGO

MAP SHOWS WHERE *MAYFLOWER* APPROACHED CAPE COD, AND WHERE IT WAS NEARLY WRECKED OFF MONOMOY POINT. ROUTES OF RETURN TO PROVINCETOWN AND OF EVENTUAL JOURNEY TO PLYMOUTH BAY ARE ALSO SHOWN.

a house had been, and a large metal kettle.

Most providentially, they later spotted recently heaped mounds of sand and, after digging, uncovered a cache vital to their future: baskets of Indian corn, and a few dozen ears of different colors. It was, said Bradford, "a very goodly sight, having never seen any such before." After agreeing that they would recompense the owners — which indeed they would one day do — they filled their pockets with the precious seed corn and also took the kettle, which two men carried away on a staff. The rest of the corn they reburied.

On nearing the river, now called after the local Pamet tribe, they saw the remainder of an old palisade, or fort — the handiwork of Europeans, as seemed true as well of the planked house and the kettle. As for the Pamet River, they felt that they had insufficient time to explore it and decided to leave that until after restoration of the shallop. They made note of two canoes, one on either bank, and then headed back.

That night, a very rainy one, they spent by the pond after raising a barricade, making a fire and posting three sentinels.

To save time in the morning, the explorers sank the kettle in the pond and took off through the woods — where they got lost and had to puzzle their way out.

On nearing the *Mayflower* the group shot off muskets and the longboat shoved off to fetch them. Carver and Jones and many others came ashore to greet them with relief and delight; for, said Bradford, the Pilgrims "were marvelously glad and their hearts encouraged" by what Standish and his volunteers called "Our First Discovery."

There was, though, an ominous aspect to their explorations.

Bradford observed that they could neither go to nor come from the shore except at high water. "Oftentimes they waded to the middle of the thigh," he said. Some made the trip of necessity, some for the pleasure of getting to stand on firm land. "But," said Bradford, "it brought to the most, if not to all, coughs and colds, the weather proving suddenly cold and stormy, which afterwards turned to the scurvy, whereof many died."

Although the carpenters estimated it would take two additional days to completely repair the shallop, the Pilgrims decided to shove off Nov. 27 for further exploration of the Pamet River area.

"Our Second Discovery," as the Pilgrims called it, would cover four difficult days. Twenty-four men were picked to go — a number increased to thirty-four when Jones expressed a wish to go, too, and brought nine of his crew. In gratitude for his kindness, Jones was chosen leader.

They used both the shallop and the longboat. Confronted with "rough weather and cross winds," they were soon forced to seek the nearest shore, and then to wade above the knees to get to it.

Some of the men, worried about the loss of time, marched an additional six or seven miles. "It blowed and did snow all that day and night, and froze withal." Thinking back days later on their frigid experience, they noted: "Some of our people that are dead took the original of their death here."

Next day the group sailed to the mouth of the Pamet River. Understandably, they called it "Cold Harbour." They decided it was navigable only by boats, not ships. After they had plodded up steep hills and down into deep valleys through six inches of snow, their wearied captain felt that they should rest. Some wanted to explore farther, but they made camp for the night "under a few pine trees."

They had eaten little that day, and dined "with soldiers' stomachs" when they bagged three fat geese and six ducks.

By morning the explorers decided the land was too hilly and the harbor too shallow for a settlement, and they went looking for the place where they had cached the rest of the corn. This was on a hill near the shore overlooking Cold Harbour. They named it "Corn Hill," still its name. They had to dig with cutlasses and short swords a foot into the frozen ground; and they thanked God that they had made the first exploratory trip, for the ground was now hidden by snow and hard-frozen.

Bradford, in his history, emphasized what "a special Providence of God" that first corn discovery had been:

"They got seed to plant them corn the next year, or else they might have starved, for they had none nor any likelihood to get any till the season had been past, as the sequel did manifest."

They dug in other places and, in all, got about ten bushels of corn, two or three baskets of wheat and a bag of beans. Then

PILGRIM MONUMENT TO FIRST LANDING, LOCATED ON PROVINCETOWN HIGHLAND.

BY A. I. WHITTAKER, PILGRIM MONUMENT MUSEUM, PROVINCETOWN

weather-wise Master Jones saw that the sky portended foul weather and wished to go back aboard ship. So they sent back all the corn and "our weakest people and some that were sick." This left 18 who hoped to find Indians, with whom they were eager to trade — or, as they expressed it, to truck.

NEXT DAY THE EXPLORERS FOLLOWED TRAILS into the woods, but found no Indians. On the way back they came upon graves, especially one that was "much bigger and longer than any we had yet seen." They made an astonishing discovery on opening it: Besides the bones of a child, they found those of a man whose "skull had fine yellow hair still on it."

They tried to guess the mystery surely surrounding this burial. From seagoing artifacts in the grave, they concluded that the blonde corpse was most likely that of one of a group of French sailors killed by Nauset Indians after their ship was wrecked on Cape Cod in 1616-1617.

In the late afternoon, they discovered two Indian houses — arbor-like lodges with roofs made from saplings that had been curved and then covered with mats. Still, they found no Indians.

With night coming the group hastened aboard the shallop and headed back to the *Mayflower*. They soon noted that "cold and wet lodging had so tainted our people, for scarce any of us were free from vehement coughs."

Aboard ship, there followed worried debate — lengthy despite the pressure for a speedy decision — on where they should settle. No place they had yet explored seemed to satisfy their desire that the site chosen possess a good water supply, ample corn ground, a convenient harbor and good fishing, and that it be "healthful, secure and defensible."

The discussion was presently joined by a crewman who had an attractive suggestion. Robert Coppin, the ship's second mate and its pilot, recalled that on an earlier voyage he had seen a "good harbor" near what he thought was another headland of Cape Cod. It was "some eight leagues (about 24 miles) distant," he told them; and because an Indian there had made off with a harpoon during the trading, Coppin and his mates had called the place "Thievish Harbor."

The Pilgrims thereupon decided on a third trip of discovery, which was not to go beyond "Thievish Harbor."

It was now the first full week in December. It would be one of the most momentous of their voyage, with the weather, at times, brutal.

What Bradford would call the General Sickness now began to take its toll. On Monday, Dec. 4, a young servant boy, Edward Thompson, died. Two days later so did another boy, Jasper More, one of four More children who were among the orphans brought by the Strangers and the Pilgrims.

The weather Dec. 5 was "too foul" for the shallop to leave. During that day the *Mayflower*, as told in *Mourt's Relation*, narrowly escaped destruction by gunpowder. One of the young sons of the colony's worst troublemaker, John Billington of London, found some gunpowder, and in his father's absence made "squibs" (firecrackers). More seriously, he discharged his father's fowling piece amid scattered gunpowder in the cabin, "there being a little barrel of powder half full . . . and yet, by God's mercy, no harm done."

The shallop set sail on Dec. 6. Among the eighteen volunteers were ten of the foremost Pilgrims, including Carver, Bradford, Winslow and Standish. Two of the Pilgrims' hired seamen were also along, as were six of the ship's crew — including First Mate John Clarke, who had made two prior voyages to America, and Coppin, to show the way to "Thievish Harbor."

The weather was "very cold and hard." It was some time before they could even get clear of Long Point. "The water froze on our clothes and made them many times like coats of iron."

After they got under the weather shore, however, the sailing was better and the explorers went several leagues along the coast. As they landed at present Eastham, they saw 10 or 12 Indians cutting up a stranded grampus two or three miles away. The Pilgrims made a barricade and a fire, and set sentinels. They could see the smoke of the Indians' fire that night a few miles away.

The following day the company divided, some sailing along the

WASHDAY, FIRST IN NEW WORLD, OCCURRED AT PRESENT PROVINCETOWN ON A MONDAY, SETTING PATTERN OF MONDAY WASHDAYS FOR MANY YEARS TO COME.

SABBATH SERVICE ON CLARKS ISLAND IN FUTURE DUXBURY BAY. DURING TRIP WHEN PILGRIMS FIRST EXPLORED PLYMOUTH AREA.

shore, others exploring by land. In the woods the land contingent found more graves and former Indian dwellings, but no Indians. They signaled the shallop as the sun began to draw low. "Weary and faint, for we had eaten nothing all that day," they prepared their camp — another barricade of logs, stakes and thick pine boughs near the north bank where the present Herring River enters the bay.

Just about midnight the explorers heard "a great and hideous cry; and our sentinels called, 'Arm! Arm!' " They shot off a couple of muskets and the noise ceased. "We concluded," they noted, "that it was a company of wolves and foxes."

The next day, Dec. 8, was to be one of their most exhausting and dangerous. The weather was the worst of the week; and that night the shallop would nearly be lost on the rocks, which would have meant, as they phrased it, "the overthrow of all."

As daybreak came they faced their first shock.

They started stirring about 5 a.m., held prayer, and began preparing breakfast and moving things down to the shallop. Some were concerned about moving down their armor and guns, and four of the explorers kept theirs — fortunately. As the others returned from the shallop to breakfast there was again, as at midnight, "a great and strange cry," and one of the company came running in, yelling: "They are men! Indians! Indians!" Thereupon, "arrows came flying amongst us."

The four Pilgrims with arms manned the open side of the barricade. Standish, who had a quick-firing snaphance, or flintlock, fired, and so did another. The other two held fire to be sure of their targets. The men at the shallop fired three of their matchlocks (slower-firing guns).

The Indians, not "less than 30 or 40" in number, fled — after some had come daringly near to shoot their arrows. The Pilgrims followed them for a quarter mile and fired a couple of muskets, "that they might see we were not afraid."

None of the Pilgrims was injured. But for settlers eager to meet and trade with their neighbors, the experience appeared deeply dismaying. Bradford said he later learned that the Indians believed that the Pilgrims were confreres who had "come to revenge" the murder of the French sailors by the Nausets.

The Pilgrims retrieved their arrow-pierced coats from the barricade and gathered 18 arrows that Master Jones would later take back to England. They called the place "First Encounter Beach," still its name.

Coppin's estimate of the distance to his "Thievish Harbor" was more accurate than he realized, had the Pilgrims' shallop gone directly westward across Cape Cod Bay. The exploratory group, however, had been taking a route more than three times longer, keeping close to the unexplored coast of the bay so that they could spot any harbor.

The wind was good as they left First Encounter Beach. For many miles they found "neither river nor creek." Then, after a couple of hours, the weather changed to snow and rain and in the afternoon the wind increased, "the seas began to be very rough . . . and the hinges of the rudder broke."

Two sailors struggled to steer with oars. The seas "had grown so great that we were much troubled and in great danger; and night grew on."

Their crisis soon intensified.

"Master Coppin bade us be of good cheer; he saw the harbor." His shipmates, said Bradford, crowded on what sail they could "to get in while they could see. But herewith they broke their mast in three pieces and their sail fell overboard in a very grown sea, so as they had like to have been cast away. Yet by God's mercy they recovered themselves, and having flood (tide) with them, struck into the harbor."

Then came the worst moment:

Coppin, perceiving that ahead was "a cove full of breakers," cried out, "Lord be merciful unto them for his eyes never saw that place before. . . ."

Apparently, instead of heading into Plymouth Bay, they were being swept, with the tide and wind behind them, toward a beach between the Gurnet and Saquish Head.

DISASTER WAS SUDDENLY AVERTED WHEN ONE of the mariners — Bradford described him only as "a lusty sailor which steered" — yelled to those rowing: "About with her or else they were all cast away; the which they did with speed. So he bid them to be of good cheer and row lustily, for there was a fair sound before them, and he doubted not but they should find one place or other where they might ride in safety. And though it was very dark and rained sore, yet in the end they got under the lee of a small island. . . ."

They would actually not know until morning that they had found safety on an island. The lusty sailor had brought them around Saquish Head to a small island just to its north in future Duxbury Bay. Miraculously, he had also averted the shallop's being grounded on another hazard at the entrance to Plymouth Bay, a shoal on which French explorer Samuel de Champlain's ship had grounded in 1605.

Mindful of what had happened to them that morning on First Encounter Beach, some of the Pilgrims considered it best to stay with the boat and keep watch. Others, also wet and cold, went ashore and made a fire. And when, after midnight, the wind shifted to the northwest "and it froze hard," the rest joined them.

The morning brought a "fair, sunshining day." Marching around revealed they were on an island with "no inhabitants at all." They named it for First Mate Clarke, who had been the first to go ashore.

They proceeded comfortably to "dry their stuff, fix their pieces (weapons) and rest themselves; and gave God thanks for His mercies in their manifold deliverances." Thus they spent Saturday; and on the following day, the Sabbath, they rested.

Dec. 11, the next day, they explored Plymouth Bay and the shore and decided that here was "the best they could find, and the season and their present necessity made them glad to accept it."

They had sounded the harbor and found it "fit for shipping," then "marched into the land and found divers cornfields, and little running brooks, a place very good for situation."

This area had been the seat of the Patuxets, Squanto's people, who were wiped out by the plague. It was the place, as Bradford learned later, of which Capt. Thomas Dermer wrote to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, "I would that the first plantation might here be seated."

The Pilgrim leaders sailed 25 miles directly eastward back to the *Mayflower* and told the others of their exciting discovery, which, said Bradford, "did much comfort their hearts."

For Bradford himself, however, there was dreadful news. His wife, Dorothy — whom he had married in Holland in 1613, when she had just turned 16 years of age, and who was the mother of their 5-year-old son, John, like other Pilgrim children left behind with Rev. John Robinson — was dead.

Rev. Cotton Mather of the Puritans, in an early account of Bradford's life, said Bradford's "dearest consort, accidently falling overboard, was drowned in the harbor." This was on Dec. 7 — a week after the seventh anniversary of their marriage, and just a day after Bradford had left the *Mayflower* to join in the perilous but decisive Third Discovery that led the Pilgrims to Plymouth.

Barely surviving the first winter

Many die of disease; harsh weather and fire severely disrupt construction; then in the spring, at last, comes the first friendly Indian welcome.

CHAPTER

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There also had been some happy moments aboard the *Mayflower* while the shallop was away on the third exploratory trip. *Mourt's Relation* recorded how "it pleased God that Mistress White was brought to bed of a son, which was called Peregrine." Susanna White's new son, whose older brother was born in Leyden, was the first English child born in New England.

But mostly, the waiting, anxious hours for the *Mayflower* passengers were not happy ones.

The death of Dorothy Bradford was followed the next day by the death of a victim of the General Sickness, a 57-year-old tailor recruited by the London adventurers. Many aboard were sick. The number of passengers would be steadily diminished. Within a few weeks, the sickness would take the lives of both Peregrine's father and the tailor's wife.

Indeed, when the passengers set about discussing where they should dwell, they had already dug four graves. A memorial to these first victims, whose adventure into the New World in search of religious freedom and a new life had come so quickly to an end, may be seen today in the center of Provincetown. And soon for the dwindling band of pioneers there would be many, many more untimely graves.

On Dec. 15, Master Jones weighed anchor and the *Mayflower* left future Provincetown Harbor. When the ship came within six miles of Plymouth Bay, the head winds made it impossible "to fetch the harbor," and they went back. With a fair wind the next day the Pilgrims put to sea again, and managed to reach the harbor safely just before the winds shifted.

Jones dropped anchor just inside Beach Point, the northern tip of the three-mile-long spit of land, now called Plymouth Beach, that forms the eastern barrier and a natural breakwater for Plymouth Harbor. The *Mayflower* was "a mile and almost a half" from the granite boulder years later christened Plymouth Rock — an almost solitary, glacier-age deposit on this part of the sandy and shallow shore.

The Pilgrims had arrived on Saturday — a time for preparing food, attire and furnishings for the coming Sabbath that, regardless of loss of time, they persisted reverently in observing as an occasion for religion and rest.

Still, the Pilgrims noted from shipboard that the harbor was "a bay greater than Cape Cod" and "compassed with goodly land." Stretching from their anchorage toward future Kingston and Duxbury, the bay seemed to them "in fashion like a sickle or fishhook."

No one went ashore until Monday, Dec. 18. On that morning members of the company began explorations to decide exactly where they should begin building. The search would consume three days.

For hours they marched along the coast, and went seven or eight miles through the woods without seeing any Indians. They examined land formerly planted by the Indians, its soil good to the depth of a spade's blade. They found a great variety of familiar trees and vines, "and many others which we know not." They found brooks and springs, and praised the water as "the best . . . that ever we drunk." Weary from marching, they went back that night to the *Mayflower*.

Some by land and some in the shallop pressed their search the next day.

The shallop went three miles up a creek in the future town of Kingston, and the explorers named it the Jones River after the *Mayflower*'s captain. The group also crossed the bay to examine Clarks Island.

On returning that night to the *Mayflower*, they resolved that next day they would "settle on some of those places" they had just seen.

In the morning they "called on God for direction" and went for "a better view" of just two of the places previously explored.

Clarks Island was excluded as simply too small. They felt keenly the need to save time, "our victuals being much spent, especially our beer." And so, immediately after an additional look, they voted for the high ground they had inspected the first day — the land back of the great rock.

Here there was everything they sought. As they reported:

"There is a great deal of land cleared, and hath been planted with corn three or four years ago; and there is a very sweet brook runs under the hill side, and many delicate springs . . . and where we may harbor our shallops and boats exceedingly well; and in this brook much good fish in their seasons; on the further side of the river also much corn-ground cleared. In one field is a great hill, on which we point to make a platform, and plant our ordnance. . . ."

Thus, before names had been bestowed upon them, the Pilgrims were describing Cole's Hill, directly back of Plymouth Rock; Town Brook on the hill's south side; Pilgrim Spring, still flowing in Brewster Garden; and, 165 feet above the sea, Burial Hill, on which they would build a fort-meetinghouse — a hill from which they could that day "see thence Cape Cod."

Twenty decided to spend the night right there, while those returning to the *Mayflower* promised to be back in the morning to start building houses. But harsh December weather interfered.

That night there was a tempest of pelting rain and strong winds. Those ashore had had insufficient daylight to build an adequate shelter and were soaked. They "had no victuals on land" and the winds blew so fiercely that the shallop could not return. On the *Mayflower*, meanwhile, it was necessary to "ride with three anchors ahead."

The gale made travel next day between ship and shore impossible. It was on this day that Mary, wife of Isaac Allerton, gave birth to a stillborn son. Mary Allerton, mother of three children born in Leyden, would herself die in a few weeks.

Preparations for building did get under way on Saturday, Dec. 23, with as many as were able joining those ashore. First, though, they had to dig two graves: one for the Allerton infant and another for a youth from London who had died on shipboard the first day of the storm.

On that Saturday and the following days, even on Christmas Day, they kept busy: "Some to fell timber, some to saw, some to rive (split), and some to carry; so no man rested all that day." Bradford, moreover, wrote that it was on Christmas Day that they "began to erect the first house for common use to receive them and their goods." The common house was atop Cole's Hill, on its south side, and near the foot of modern Leyden street, the first street in New England.

DETAIL FROM PAINTING DEPICTS *MAYFLOWER* IN PLYMOUTH HARBOR.

PLYMOUTH ROCK, LEGACY OF A GLACIER AGE, IS UNUSUAL FEATURE IN AREA OF MOSTLY SANDY, SHALLOW BEACHES.

CRADLE USED BY PEREGRINE WHITE, FIRST ENGLISH BABY BORN IN NEW ENGLAND.

SAMOSET (ABOVE RIGHT) IS DEPICTED WELCOMING PILGRIMS TO NEW WORLD AS THEY BUILD PLYMOUTH'S FIRST HOUSES.

That Christmas Night on the *Mayflower*, Jones provided "some beer, but on shore none at all."

Foul weather occurred most days during the remainder of December, leaving the people ashore "much troubled and discouraged."

On Dec. 28 the Pilgrims made a very practical decision, after concluding that "two rows of houses and a fair street" along with a platform for ordnance on the hilltop would be "easier impaled." The decision was to have single men without wives join families "so we might build fewer houses." Then lots were cast for 19 "household units."

The Pilgrims were already talking about the "weakness of our people." They recorded that many were "growing ill with colds; for our former discoveries in frost and storms, and the wading at Cape Cod had brought much weakness amongst us, which increased so every day more and more." By December's end six had died. In January eight more would follow them, and still the agony and the dreadful toll of the General Sickness would grow.

Keen as the Pilgrims were to become acquainted with their Indian neighbors, they worried that the reduction in their number might invite attack. To conceal their losses, they resorted to burials in unmarked graves on Cole's Hill.

Those doing the building saw, at a distance they judged to be six or seven miles, smoke from Indian fires. And on Jan. 3, some who had gone to gather thatch "saw great fires of the Indians." A group went to the former cornfields, but saw no Indians.

The next day Myles Standish and four or five others sought to meet the Indians. They found Indian dwellings,"not lately inhabited" — but again, no Indians.

As the 20-foot-square common house neared completion, with about eight days more needed to finish the thatching, the Pilgrims on Jan. 9 decided on a new plan for building their small houses. That day they divided the meersteads (acreage) and garden plots "after the proportion formerly allotted," and agreed that "every man should build his own house, thinking by that course men would make more haste than working in common."

This sort of private initiative was a principle in which the Pilgrims, close-knit though they were in fellowship, deeply believed. Allegiance to it was why they had refused, when leaving Southampton, to accede to the harsh demands of Thomas Weston and the London adventurers. They would adhere to this principle in the future in other crucial decisions about developing their plantation.

The January weather was so foul that they found that "seldom could we work half the week."

Pilgrims aboard the *Mayflower* were up early on Sunday, Jan. 14, to go to join those on land — by then the larger group — for their first Sabbath meeting ashore. The wind was blowing strong-

ly, and as they looked toward Leyden street they suddenly "espied their great new rendezvous (common house) on fire." A spark had landed in the thatch and fire was rapidly spreading.

While at work three days earlier, Bradford had been stricken with such pain in his hip and legs that there was fear he would die. He already had a severe cold. When the thatch flared up he and Gov. Carver lay sick in bed in the common house. Near them were gunpowder and charged muskets.

"Through God's mercy they had no harm," reported *Mourt's Relation.* The fire consumed only the thatch. The roof still stood, but some who had transferred ashore had to resume quarters aboard the *Mayflower.*

The common house, in any case, had not provided adequate quarters. It had been "as full of beds as they could lie one by another." So, besides repairing the roof, the Pilgrims spent two days building a shed "to put our common provision in."

They did get to hold their first Sabbath meeting ashore the following Sunday, Jan. 21.

THE REST OF THE MONTH, WHEN "FROSTY weather and sleet" would let them, the Pilgrims used the shallop and longboat to bring ashore common provisions, like hogsheads of meal. These they carried up to storage.

The manifold tasks facing them were made more arduous by illness, on shipboard and shore, and by the steady decline in their numbers.

"The sickness," said Bradford, "began to fall sore amongst them" after the fire. February would bring their greatest loss of life, with sometimes two or three being buried in a single night. In all, seventeen more of the passengers would perish by the end of the month, and one of the small houses — briefly endangered when a spark kindled the roof — had to be pressed into use to help care for the increased number of the sick.

The February weather, after starting "with the greatest gusts of wind that ever we had since we came forth," continued mostly severe. The *Mayflower,* lightened now because of the goods that had been brought ashore, was "in danger." Often the weather made work impossible. And by mid-month the Pilgrims became deeply concerned about their security.

On Feb. 16, a fair day, one of the Pilgrims went fowling in the reeds about a mile-and-a-half from the plantation. Suddenly he saw a dozen Indians headed toward the plantation, and could hear in the woods "the noise of many more." He laid low, then ran home to give an alarm.

That same day Myles Standish and a companion left their tools in the woods and, on returning, found that the Indians had taken them.

Muskets that had been allowed to get out of temper — firing condition — because of moisture were promptly put in order, and a strict watch was set. The next day, the Pilgrims assembled to establish "military orders among ourselves." Standish was formally elected captain and was voted full authority to command in military affairs.

Even as they were engaged in this activity, there appeared two Indians atop Watson's Hill (the Pilgrims called it Strawberry Hill), which was then much higher than it is today and was to the south of the plantation, immediately across Town Brook. Standish and Stephen Hopkins hurried across the brook and laid down a musket to show their desire to parley. The Indians — including some who had been concealed behind the hill — abruptly took off.

The sudden appearance of so many Indians caused the puzzled Pilgrims to begin getting their ordnance in place.

Jones, with some crewmen, brought ashore a minion — a cannon with a 3¼-inch bore. This, along with a larger bore cannon called a saker that had been left by the shore, were lugged to the platform on top of Burial Hill. They were mounted there with two smaller cannon, called bases, which had a 1¼-inch bore. The work was completed Feb. 21 — the same day four passengers died, among them the father of Peregrine White.

During March the General Sickness would claim thirteen more lives. Still, it was during this month that the Pilgrims would for the first time hear thunder and the songs of birds in New England, and would sow some garden seeds — true signs, all of them, of springtime and renewed hope.

"The spring now approaching," said Bradford, "it pleased God the mortality began to cease amongst them, and the sick and the lame recovered apace, which put as it were new life into them, though they had borne their sad affliction with [as] much patience and contentedness as I think any people could do. But it was the Lord which upheld them. . . ."

When the General Sickness had finally run its course, half of all the *Mayflower's* passengers had perished.

The loss among the wives was the heaviest. Among the eighteen couples aboard, eight of the men but only four of the women survived. Four families were wiped out, and only in three families did all the members survive. Six children lost one parent and five lost both.

Children fared comparatively well, with twenty-five of thirty-two surviving. Of the eleven young women, only one died. Among the nine young male servants, the toll was appalling: All but one perished.

There were two doctors in the company: the *Mayflower's* doctor, Giles Heale, and Samuel Fuller, a weaver while in Leyden who functioned as the Pilgrims' "surgeon and physician." Fuller, said Bradford, was a tender-hearted man and "a great help and comfort to them." During the General Sickness, however, neither doctor was mentioned. Perhaps they, like Bradford, were among those stricken.

Accounts are far from specific as to the name or proper treatment for the dreadful sickness. Medical techniques of that day were so primitive that they could have brought more harm than cure to patients unquestionably suffering from improper diet, anxiety, overexertion, and exposure to damp and cold. Bradford ascribed the affliction to "the scurvy and other diseases which this long voyage and their inaccomodate condition had brought upon them." The other diseases could have been pneumonia or ship fever, a form of typhus.

Jones' crew did not escape. "Almost half of their company died before they went away," said Bradford, "many of their officers and lustiest men, as the boatswain, gunner, three quartermasters, the cook and others." Neither the names of the crew, beyond a few, nor their exact number have come down to us. But their estimated loss of life must be added to the steep figure we have of passenger deaths.

Bradford also told of the "rare example" shown during the General Sickness by the seven Pilgrims who escaped affliction. These, he said, "spared no pains night nor day, but with abundance of toil and hazard of their own health, fetched them (the sick) wood, made them fires, dressed their meat, made their beds, washed their loathsome clothes, clothed and unclothed them. In a word, did all the homely and necessary offices for them which dainty and queasy stomachs cannot endure to hear named. . . .

"Two of these seven were Mr. William Brewster, their Reverend Elder, and Myles Standish, their Captain and military commander, unto whom myself and many others were much beholden in our low and sick condition."

Since coming to the New World, all of the future leaders of Plymouth except Brewster had been widowed — Bradford by an accident, Winslow and Standish by the General Sickness.

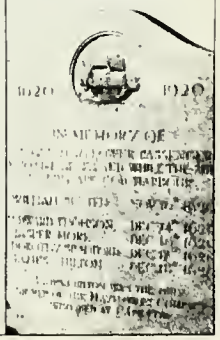
From Leyden their beloved pastor, Rev. John Robinson, wrote in June: "The death of so many of our dear friends and brethren, oh! how grievous hath it been. . . ." But he still was confident that God's mercy could be seen in the fact that He had spared so many of their leaders, and that He would ensure victory to their struggle to provide "godly and wise government."

Mid-March, at last, brought the beautiful greeting that the Pilgrims had yearned to hear ever since they first caught sight of the New England coast.

On March 16 Standish and the other men — now fewer than two dozen — were interrupted as they sought to complete discussion of their new military organization. A tall, straight Indian, "stark naked, only a leather about his waist," carrying a bow and two arrows, caused an alarm as he approached the common house.

"He very boldly came all alone, and along the houses, straight to the rendezvous. . . . He saluted us in English, and bade us, 'Welcome!' "

MEMORIAL IN PROVINCETOWN TO THOSE PILGRIMS WHO DIED BEFORE COMPANY TRAVELED FROM PROVINCETOWN TO PLYMOUTH.



CHAPTER

· XI ·

A welcome peace treaty with Massasoit

It promises longterm security for their colony; and Squanto's teaching, so crucial to the settlers, points the way to eventual prosperity.

The surprise visitor, an impressive figure of "seemly carriage," was Samoset, an Algonquin sagamore (a chief) from Pemaquid Point in Maine.

The astounded Pilgrims did not invite him inside the common house lest they reveal their limited numbers. It was a fair, warm day, and they questioned him until night was coming, for Samoset was the first native "we could meet withal." He was "free in speech," though somewhat difficult to understand because, said Bradford, he spoke "in broken English."

Samoset had learned the tongue from sailors who had been coming for years to Monhegan Island, about 10 miles off Pemaquid Point, to fish and trade. He had come to the Plymouth area some eight months earlier with Capt. Thomas Dermer.

Accustomed to English ways, Samoset asked for some beer. The Pilgrims had none, and instead gave him some "strong water (liquor) . . . biscuit and butter and cheese and pudding and a piece of mallard." And when the wind began to rise a little, they solicitously "cast a horseman's coat about him."

Samoset had quite a bit to offer. He recounted the names of ships, captains and mates who had visited Monhegan, and gave details about the "east parts where he lived, which was afterwards profitable to them." From Samoset the Pilgrims also, at last, received information about their Indian neighbors, and about this place where they were busy constructing their dwellings.

Its Indian name was Accomack and the clearings that had been made for cornfields were those of the local Patuxet tribe, whose members had perished in the plague four years past. The nearest neighbors to the Pilgrims now were other Wampanoag Indians, whose great sachem, Massasoit, lived 40 miles away at Sowams, in what is now Warren, R. I., on Narragansett Bay. Massasoit had 60 warriors, while the Nausets on Cape Cod, who had escaped the plague, had 100 — all "ill affected towards the English" since the villainous Capt. Hunt, reviled equally in England and the New World, kidnaped "20 (Patuxets) out of this very place we inhabit and seven men from the Nausets . . . and sold them for slaves."

As night came the Pilgrims, out of caution, would gladly have had Samoset leave, but he wanted to stay the night. Ultimately he was lodged with Stephen Hopkins, the only Pilgrim with prior knowledge of Indians, whose house was directly across Leyden street from Elder Brewster's.

With gifts of "a knife, a bracelet and a ring," Samoset departed next morning, first making a promise that he would be back again with other Indians and "with such beavers' skins as they had to truck."

The Indians, of course, had quite naturally been watching the newcomers, probably from the time they first dropped anchor off the coast. Recently, as Bradford observed, the Indians had been coming closer and even deliberately revealing their presence. This wary reconnaissance was now approaching what would be a very dramatic climax.

Samoset was back the next day, a Sunday, with "five other tall, proper men." As the Pilgrims had instructed them, the Indians left their bows and arrows a quarter mile from the settlement. Some wore deerskins, some wildcat skins or fox tails, and some "had their faces painted black, from forehead to the chin, four or five fingers broad."

"We gave them entertainment as we thought was fitting them," the Pilgrims reported in *Mourt's Relation.* "They did eat liberally of our English victuals. They made semblance unto us of friendship and amity." Indeed, they brought back the tools that Capt. Standish missed the previous month in the woods. And, said *Mourt's,* "they sang and danced after their manner, like antics."

Samoset and his friends had brought along, as he had promised, some beaver skins. But anxious as the Pilgrims were to initiate trade, they still would not barter on the Sabbath. In fact, because of Sabbath obligations, they were eager for the Indians to depart. They did urge the Indians to come again and bring more skins, "and we would truck for all." Each Indian was given a gift — "some trifles" — but then it developed that Samoset wanted to stay. The rest left.

Samoset was "either was sick or feigned himself so," said the Pilgrims. The Indian, it would appear, was merely trying to see what further he might learn about these Europeans. He stayed the first days of the week, which were so fair and warm that the Pilgrims dug ground and planted more garden seed. These were British seed — wheat and peas — and some of them, said Bradford, "came not to good," having become defective.

It was during this week, on March 21, that the *Mayflower* voyage came finally to an end for the last of the passengers. The carpenter, recovered from scurvy, completed some repairs to the shallop and it went "to fetch all from aboard."

This day Samoset departed. The Pilgrims gave him some English clothing — a hat, shoes, stockings and a shirt — and, showing their anxiety to trade, asked him to learn from his companions why they had not returned.

With Samoset gone, the Pilgrims once again resumed discussion on their military organization. They had talked for only an hour when they were again interrupted, this time by two or three Indians — "daring us, as we thought" — who appeared on Watson's Hill just across Town Brook. Capt. Standish and a companion, with muskets, ran toward them. But as they drew near the Indians "made show of defiance" and fled.

The next day — "a very fair, warm day" — would be one of the most important in the entire life of the plantation.

Again the men assembled to discuss their public business. And again, they had been scarcely an hour together when Samoset returned. With him was the only remaining Patuxet, Squanto, one of the Indians kidnaped by the notorious Capt. Hunt. Having lived in England, Squanto, said Samoset, could speak better English than himself.

The Indians had "some few skins to truck and some red herrings, newly taken and dried, but not salted." They also had sensational news: "Their great sagamore, Massasoit, was hard by, with Quadequina, his brother, and all their men!"

Samoset and Squanto could not have been far ahead of the Indian chief and his entourage — warriors and "their wives and their women" — for hardly an hour passed before "the king came to the top of the hill over against us, and had in his train 60 men, that we could well behold them, and they us."

BY N. C. WYETH, METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE CO.

PILGRIM MAID (DETAIL) DEPICTED SERVING FOOD TO INDIANS, WHO WERE FREQUENT VISITORS TO PLYMOUTH COLONY.

The sight atop Watson's Hill was spectacular. Massasoit's attire differed little from that of his warriors save that he had "a great chain of white bone beads about his neck." His face was painted "a sad red, like murrey (mulberry)." And, in Indian fashion, he was "oiled both head and face.... All his followers likewise were in their faces, in part or in whole, painted, some black, some red, some yellow, and some white ... some had skins on them, and some naked; all strong, tall men in appearance."

The Pilgrims, looking at the warrior array, could readily see that the Indians outnumbered them nearly three to one. For their part, the Pilgrims sought to be as impressive as their resources would permit.

Both Pilgrims and Indians were wary. When neither group gave a sign of sending its leader, Squanto went across the brook and returned with word that Massasoit desired that "we should send one to parley with him."

The choice for this crucial diplomatic task was Edward Winslow — 25 years of age, courageous, innovative, a future governor. Winslow took gifts: a pair of knives and a copper chain with a jewel in it for Massasoit; a knife and "a jewel to hang in his ear" for Quadequina; and "a pot of strong water, a good quantity of biscuit and some butter."

Though Pilgrim Winslow was hardly on speaking terms with the king of England, he began his speech to Massasoit with the assurance "that King James saluted him with words of love and peace, and did accept of him as his friend and ally; and that our governor desired to see him and to truck with him and to confirm a peace with him as his next neighbor."

The Pilgrim food furnished a hilltop repast, with Massasoit much taken by Winslow's sword and armor. Winslow then remained as hostage with the sachem's brother while Massasoit and twenty of his warriors crossed the brook. They did leave their bows and arrows behind, though the sachem kept "in his bosom, hanging in a string, a great long knife." Six or seven of the warriors became hostages for Winslow.

Massasoit was met by Standish, an aide and six musketeers. After an exchange of salutes, he was taken to a house then being built in which the Pilgrims had placed a green rug and three or four cushions for their visitor. Gov. Carver then entered, to the sound of drum and trumpet. Behind him came a few musketeers.

There were official salutations. Carver kissed Massasoit's hand, Massasoit responded in kind, and they sat down. When the governor called for strong water and drank to him, Massasoit responded by taking "a great draught that made him sweat all the while after." They ate a little fresh meat; and thereupon concluded a six-point treaty that the Pilgrims assured Massasoit would make King James "esteem of him as his friend and ally."

The Pilgrims then conducted Massasoit back to the brook. There, instead of receiving Winslow, they were greeted by Massasoit's brother. Quadequina — "a very proper, tall young man of a very modest and seemly countenance" — was also well entertained. On Quadequina's return to the brook, the Indians released their hostage.

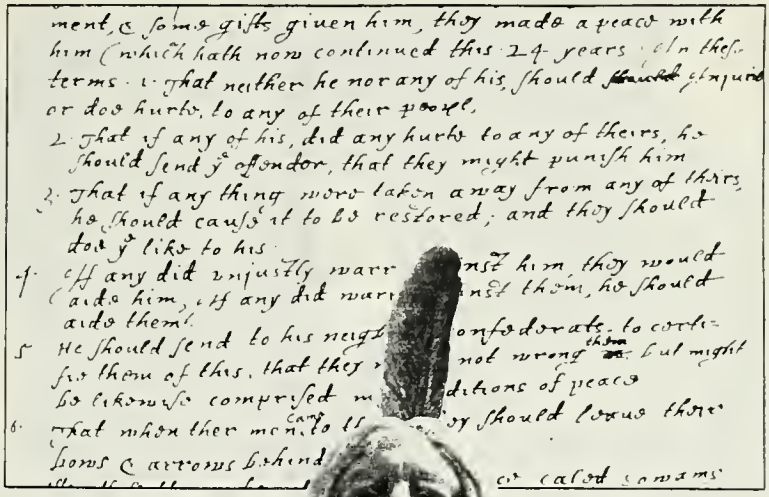
The peace treaty was expressed in simple, direct terms:

Neither people was to harm the other. Each would punish their own offenders against the other's people. If anything was stolen, it would be returned. Each would aid the other in the event "any did unjustly war against him." Each would seek to have the other's "neighbor confederates" join in the treaty. Each would leave any weapons at a distance when making visits.

That night Massasoit and his men camped in the woods a half mile away. Only Samoset and Squanto stayed with the Pilgrims, "who kept good watch" but found "no appearance of danger." Massasoit and his people departed the next morning, leaving behind a promise that they would come again.

The treaty, now mutually confirmed, offered a prospect of peace and security for the religious haven the Pilgrims were creating. In fact, the Pilgrims felt that the treaty could be decisive as to whether or not the plantation would have a future here at all. And as it turned out, the agreement made possible the fulfillment of other pressing needs of the settlers: an adequate food supply, and development of the trade that would permit the Pilgrims to free themselves from Old World debts.

At that moment, though, the Pilgrims had no way of knowing


ment, & some gifts given him, they made a peace with
him (which hath now continued this 24 years) in these
terms. 1. That neither he nor any of his should ~~[illegible]~~ injure
or doe hurte to any of their people.
2. That if any of his, did any hurte to any of theirs, he
should send ye offendor, that they might punish him
3. That if any thing were taken away from any of theirs
he should cause it to be restored; and they should
doe ye like to his
4. If any did unjustly warr[illegible]nst him, they would
aide him, if any did warr[illegible]nst them, he should
aide them.
5. He should send to his neigh[illegible]onfederats, to cease
from them of this, that they [illegible] not wrong them, but might
be likewise comprised [illegible]ditions of peace
6. That when their men came to [illegible]y should leave their
bows & arrows behind
[illegible] or called sonams

PEACE TERMS WITH MASSASOIT, AS RECORDED BY BRADFORD.

STATUE OF MASSASOIT ON COLE'S HILL, PLYMOUTH.

BY CYRUS DALLIN

MASSASOIT AND GOV. CARVER MAKE PEACE. AGREEMENT ON TREATY OCCURRED IN MARCH 1621, AND TREATY'S TERMS WERE KEPT FOR MANY DECADES THEREAFTER.

BY HENRY BOTKIN PILGRIM HALL PLYMOUTH, MASS

whether this far-reaching treaty would last. Massasoit had hardly taken his leave, after giving some ground nuts and tobacco to Standish and Isaac Allerton, when the Pilgrims started speculating on the chief's motivation for making the treaty.

They could not "conceive but that he is willing to have peace with us," because Indians had had numerous opportunities to injure Pilgrims working or fowling in the woods and yet had "offered them no harm." The Pilgrims had also observed that Massasoit "trembled for fear" while with the governor, and that his brother had made "signs of dislike" until the Pilgrims' weaponry was removed. "Our pieces," they noted, "are terrible unto them."

ABOVE ALL, THE PILGRIMS HAD LEARNED OF AN Indian menace confronting Massasoit. It came from the powerful tribe that lived on the west side of Narragansett Bay — a tribe that had sustained no losses from the dreadful pestilence back in 1616-1617. Massasoit, concluded the Pilgrims, "hath a potent adversary, the Narragansetts, that are at war with him, against whom he thinks we may be some strength to him." They would be — and very soon.

That Friday, March 23, Squanto, following up on his vital contribution as interpreter-diplomat during Massasoit's visit, launched on his role as instructor to the Pilgrims — a service that would lead a grateful Bradford to describe Squanto as "a special instrument sent by God for their good beyond their expectation." That spring, said Bradford, Squanto "directed them how to set their corn, where to take fish, and to procure other commodities, and was also their pilot to bring them to unknown places for their profit, and never left them till he died."

Right after Massasoit departed, Squanto showed the Pilgrims how to catch eels. Presumably he went to a stream just south of Plymouth Harbor, the one now called Eel River. "He trod them out with his feet, and so caught them with his hands, without any other instrument." The eels were "fat and sweet" and everyone felt glad when Squanto came back that night "with as many as he could well lift in one hand."

Meanwhile Standish, in the meeting so often interrupted, finally completed the Pilgrims' military arrangements. With March 25, their New Year's Day, only two days away, the Pilgrims held an election, and again chose John Carver as governor. Carver, like Brewster, was in his mid-50s. He was the oldest of the surviving Pilgrims — and he had but a few weeks of life remaining.

Some laws were also adopted that Friday, and they were most timely. Shortly thereafter a lawful order of Standish brought a torrent of abuse from one of the Londoners, John Billington, a man of violent nature. As punishment he had "his neck and heels tied together." His humble plea for pardon brought this first offender in the colony a quick, compassionate release — but produced no reform in him.

April 5 was finally chosen as the day for the *Mayflower* to begin its return voyage. As the day came there was not a single Pilgrim — despite the suffering, hardship and death that had been their lot since coming to the New World — who gave the slightest sign of wishing to go back with the surviving crew.

Bradford went to unusual lengths in explaining the ship's delayed departure:

"The reason on their (the Pilgrims') part why she stayed so long, was the necessity and danger that lay upon them; for it was well towards the end of December before she could land anything here, or they able to receive anything ashore. Afterwards, the 14th of January, the house which they had made for a general rendezvous by casualty fell afire, and some were fain to retire aboard for shelter; then the sickness began to fall sore amongst them, and the weather so bad as they could not make much sooner any dispatch.

"Again the Governor and chief among them, seeing so many die and fall down sick daily, thought it no wisdom to send away the ship, their condition considered and the danger they stood in from the Indians, till they could procure some shelter; and therefore thought it better to draw some more charge (debt) upon themselves and friends than hazard all.

"The master and the seamen likewise, though before they hasted the passengers ashore to be gone, now many of their men being dead . . . and of the rest many lay sick and weak; the master durst not put to sea till he saw his men begin to recover, and the heart of the winter over."

For Master Jones, the *Mayflower's* return voyage would be his last. Like so many of his crew, he might have "taken the original" of his death in the exposure and strain that contributed to the General Sickness. The *Mayflower* reached London in roughly a month, on May 6, a quick passage. But in just a few months more Jones' widow and their two young children buried him in the churchyard in Rotherhithe, on the south bank of the Thames River.

A joyful, optimistic first Thanksgiving

Celebrating peace and a plentiful harvest, Winslow writes to friends: '...We are so far from want that we often wish you partakers of our plenty.'

CHAPTER
· XII ·

With the advance of spring came time for planting the main crop. The Pilgrims got out the seed corn they had taken in November from Corn Hill — the corn without which, as Bradford recorded, "they might have starved."

To help with this strange seed there was Squanto, who showed them "how to set it, and after how to dress and tend it. Also he told them, except they got fish and set with it in these old grounds it would come to nothing."

The fish were herring that, in springtime, around mid-April, swim up Town Brook to spawn. Squanto showed the Pilgrims how to trap these herring and how to plant the corn in little mounds above the fish. He also instructed them to guard the mounds to ward off wolves and other predators attracted by the decaying herring as it fertilized the corn.

While the tilling and planting were under way, Gov. Carver, suddenly stricken ill, came home from the cornfields. In a few hours he fell into a coma, and within a few days he passed away. He had been among the hardest of the workers, and this fact, the lamenting Pilgrims felt certain, had "shortened his days." In little more than a month his wife died, too. They had no children.

At the time of Carver's death Bradford had not yet recovered from his own illness. Nevertheless, the Pilgrims chose the 31-year-old Bradford, as Rev. Cotton Mather of the Puritans later expressed it, to be "the leader of a people in a wilderness." Bradford's illness had taken him "near the point of death," so the Pilgrims also elected an assistant, Isaac Allerton.

The difficulties then facing Bradford were so manifold, said Rev. Mather, that "had he not been a person of more than ordinary piety, wisdom, and courage, he must have sunk under them."

With springtime and renewed hopes, romance also came to Plymouth. On May 12 the first English child born in New England, Peregrine White, and his brother, got a new home when their mother became the bride of Edward Winslow. Both newlyweds had lost their spouses in the General Sickness. It was the colony's first marriage ceremony.

Winslow played a major part in one of Bradford's earliest efforts as governor. In July, Bradford initiated journeys into the countryside that were aimed at helping the Pilgrims learn about their Indian neighbors and the wilderness. Several trips took place that summer and fall — one of them a rescue mission to the Cape. All of them were filled with the dangers and exciting wonders of exploring unknown terrain and encountering strangers.

Winslow set out July 3 on what would be a five-day trip to Sowams (Warren, R. I.), the seat of Massasoit 40 miles away. Winslow had with him the experienced Stephen Hopkins, and Squanto as guide and interpreter.

The mission had several objectives besides a desire "to continue the league of peace and friendship between them and us." The group was to "discover the country ... as also to see their strength." And there was another vital objective. Ever since Massasoit had been to Plymouth, there had been quite a flow of his subjects coming to see the plantation, to eat and to invite gifts. The Pilgrims, "not knowing how our corn might prosper," became anxious to cut down on this entertainment, hopefully without giving offense. It was a touchy assignment for any diplomat.

Indians all along the Winslow group's route to Narragansett Bay, particularly at Namasket (Middleborough), were kindly — helping the Pilgrims ford streams, and sharing repasts of corn bread, fish and boiled acorns. One of the Pilgrims profoundly impressed the Indians at Namasket by shooting, from some four-score paces, a crow that was damaging their corn.

The Pilgrims got a hearty welcome from Massasoit on reaching Sowams on July 4. He took them to his house, and put on a gift Winslow had brought him: "a horseman's coat of red cotton and laced with a slight lace." Massasoit was "not a little proud," and his warriors were equally pleased "to see their king so bravely attired."

On hearing the Pilgrims' appeal, Massasoit at once assented to every request. He would stop the flood of visitors; any messenger from him would wear the copper chain identification Winslow had also brought; and, as overlord of the Nausets, he would help the Pilgrims make payment for the seed corn they had taken at Corn Hill. Furthermore, he gave them some of his own seed corn, so that the Pilgrims could decide which produced better on their soil.

As it grew late he invited them to use his bed, they at one end, and he and his wife at the other. It was a bed that was "only planks laid a foot from the ground and a thin mat upon them." Two of Massasoit's chief warriors who dropped in were also invited to find space for themselves on the bed. The effect on the Pilgrims was "that we were worse weary of our lodging than of our journey."

There were games in the morning and some target shooting by the Pilgrims. In early afternoon, the Indians brought two big fish and boiled them for "at least forty" to share.

Massasoit pressed his visitors to stay longer, but they said they were eager to get back for the Sabbath.

The Pilgrims had feared that they might be "light-headed for want of sleep, for what with bad lodging, the savages' barbarous singing — for they use to sing themselves asleep — lice and fleas within doors, and mosquitoes without, we could hardly sleep all the time our being there; we much fearing that if we should stay any longer, we should not be able to recover home for want of strength."

They left early Friday morning, before sunrise.

En route home the Pilgrims were well received by Indians, especially at Namasket, where "it pleased God to give them good store of fish, so that we were well refreshed."

Bradford was particularly impressed by Winslow's report that while the hostile Narragansetts, living across the bay from Massasoit and untouched by the plague, "were a strong people and many in number," there had been shocking signs of the plague's devastating effect on the Wampanoags.

Thousands had died. "They not being able to bury one another," said Bradford, "their skulls and bones were found in many places lying still above the ground where their houses and dwellings had been, a very sad spectacle to behold."

Early in August, the colonists were once again distressed by one of the Billington youngsters. This time it was not firecrackers; it was that young John Billington had gotten lost in the

STATUE OF GOV. WILLIAM BRADFORD AT PLYMOUTH HARBOR.

woods. Bradford sought Massasoit's help, and the sachem was able to report that John was in the hands of the Nauset Indians.

Bradford, with 10 armed men and Squanto as guide, took the shallop on a three-day rescue mission to the Cape.

The trip, through Massasoit's intercession, was highly successful, though beclouded near the end by a false report that Massasoit had been captured by the Narragansetts.

On the way to the Nausets the Pilgrims anchored in Barnstable Harbor, and there they were graciously entertained by the chief at Cummaquid, an Indian village. His men sang, danced, and shared their feast of lobsters and fish.

It was these Indians who had found young John, who had been living on berries, and had sent him on to the chief of the Nausets, Aspinet, whose warriors had attacked the Pilgrims at First Encounter Beach.

A PATHETIC SIGHT AT CUMMAQUID WAS "the weeping and crying" of a woman "no less than a 100 years old." The Pilgrims were told that three of her sons had been kidnaped by the villainous Capt. Hunt and that this had deprived her of "the comfort of her children in her old age."

The Pilgrims told her that all the English condemned Hunt, and gave her some gifts.

When the Pilgrim party arrived at First Encounter Beach, Bradford satisfied the Nausets, who were swarming around them, for the corn taken from Corn Hill, and promises of trade were exchanged.

Aspinet appeared after sunset with a great train of warriors. One of them carried the Billington boy through the water toward the boat. Aspinet "had no less than a hundred with him; the half whereof came to the shallop side unarmed with him; the other stood aloof with their bows and arrows. There he delivered us the boy, behung with beads, and made peace with us; we bestowing a knife on him, and likewise on anotber that first encountered the boy and brought him thither. So they departed from us."

During this exchange, the Pilgrims got word that Massasoit had been taken. "This," said Bradford, "struck some fear in us, because the colony was so weakly guarded, the strength thereof being abroad. But we set forth witb resolution to make the best haste home we could."

On their return, which was delayed by bad weather, Squanto and Hobomok — another friendly Indian, who had come to live at Plymouth — went to Namasket to see what they could learn about Massasoit. There they were set upon by a deceitful follower of the Wampanoag sachem, Corbitant, possibly jealous of these two Indians because of their close ties with the Pilgrims.

Hobomok, a strong man, broke free and rushed back to Plymouth to tell of his fear that Squanto had been slain. The last he had seen Squanto, he reported, Corbitant was holding "a knife at his breast."

The Pilgrims resolved on immediate action. Bradford dispatched Capt. Standish and some dozen armed men, with Hobomok as guide. Their orders: "If they found that Squanto was killed, to cut off Corbitant's head."

In the nighttime assault on Corbitant's house, two Indians were slightly injured. But Standish found that Corbitant had fled and that Squanto was safe.

When Hobomok explained to the Namasket Indians that it was only Corbitant who was sought, the Indians ceased trembling and shared food with the Pilgrims. The two wounded Indians were brought back so that Samuel Fuller, the Pilgrims' doctor, could dress their wounds, and then they were sent home.

A "much firmer peace" was tbe outcome of the Pilgrims' determined response to the threat to Squanto.

The Pilgrims soon possessed a document, a treaty — dated Sept. 13, 1621 — on which seven Indian chiefs had placed their names, or a mark. Winslow, writing about it to Bradford's future brother-in-law in England, George Morton — most likely the "Mourt" of *Mourt's Relation* — told of the improvement in the security of the plantation:

"It hath pleased God so to possess the Indians with a fear of us and love unto us, that not only the greatest king amongst them called Massasoit, but also all the princes and people round about us, have either made suit unto us, or been glad of any occasion to make peace with us; so that seven of them at once have sent their messengers to us to that end. Yea, an isle at sea, which we never saw, hath also, together with the former, yielded willingly to be under the protection and subject to our sovereign lord King James."

The "isle at sea" was Martha's Vineyard, called Capawack by the Indians. On that Sept. 13 document were the names or marks of Indian leaders to the south and west of Plymouth. Even Corbitant, with Massasoit mediating, got himself included.

Bradford next sought information, peace and trade with the Indians to the north — the Massachusetts tribe around future Boston Harbor.

On Sept. 18, as midnight approached, Bradford picked 10 colonists — headed by Standish, with Squanto as interpreter and with two other Indians along — to go in the shallop on this four-day mission. Two more Indian chiefs signed the peace treaty as a result of tbe mission, bringing the total to nine. Each had thus declared himself "King James' man."

After entering the harbor, the Pilgrim contingent sailed across, describing it as "very large and hath at least 50 islands in it." Once again they came face to face with the horrible ravages of the 1616-1617 plague. "Many, yea most of tbe islands have been inhabited; some being cleared from end to end. But the people are all dead, or removed."

The few Indians they did meet "used us very kindly," the Pilgrims said, and shared their boiled cod. A chief told tbem how his people had to keep on the move because of fear of the Tarratines, a Maine tribe that raided them at harvesttime to steal their crops. There was some impromptu trading, which produced an unusual scene near the shallop:

The Indian women "sold their coats from their backs and tied boughs about them, but with great shamefacedness for indeed they are more modest than some of our English women are. We promised them to come again to them, and they us to keep their skins."

BY N. C. WYETH, METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE CO.

FATHER GIVES HIS SON INSTRUCTIONS ON HOW TO SHUCK CORN (DETAIL).

BY N. C. WYETH METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE CO

Because food was limited Standish and his men did not explore the Charles River, but they did go several miles up present Mystic River. Everywhere they were impressed, particularly by the great harbor. "Better harbors for shipping cannot be than here are," they judged. Indeed, in their report Bradford said that the group came back to Plymouth "wishing they (the colony) had been there seated" — that is, by future Boston Harbor.

In less than a decade new settlers — Puritans sharing the New World dream of the Pilgrims — would sail into this same harbor and establish a community that, before the end of the century, would become the capital of the first permanent New England colony, the one then being created by the Pilgrims at Plymouth.

By mid-September, harvesttime had come to Plymouth. It was a "small harvest," said Bradford, but enough to provide a peck of corn a week per person.

Winslow gave more detail. In addition to some twenty acres of corn, they had also sown some six acres of barley and peas, "and according to the manner of the Indians, we manured our ground with herrings, or rather shads, which we have in great abundance, and take with great ease at our doors. . . .

"God be praised, we had a good increase of Indian corn, and our barley indifferent good, but our pease not worth the gathering, for we fear they were too late sown."

Winslow then proceeded to write a brief, but still our most detailed, description of the Pilgrims' first Thanksgiving.

It was a harvest festival, most likely sometime in October. Neither Winslow nor Bradford gave an exact date. Bradford did tell gratefully how the Pilgrims had recovered their strength, and now had houses and food. Winslow, in his December 1621 letter to Morton, wrote:

"Our harvest being gotten in, our governor sent four men on fowling, that so we might, after a special manner, rejoice together after we had gathered the fruit of our labors. They four in one day killed as much fowl as, with a little help beside, served the company almost a week.

"At which time, amongst other recreations, we exercised our arms, many of the Indians coming amongst us, and among the rest their greatest king, Massasoit, with some 90 men, whom for three days we entertained and feasted; and they went out and killed five deer, which they brought to the plantation, and bestowed on our governor, and upon the captain and others. And although it be not always so plentiful as it was at this time with us, yet by the goodness of God we are so far from want that we often wish you partakers of our plenty.

"We have found the Indians very faithful in their covenant of peace with us, very loving and ready to pleasure us. We often go to them, and they come to us."

At last, after recurring hardship and suffering, the Pilgrims seemed to have found peace and plenty. In these weeks of exuberance, Winslow declared: "If we have once but kine (cattle), horses and sheep, I make no question but men might live as contented here as in any part of the world." Winslow, in fact, would bring the first few cattle to Plymouth, but not for many more, difficult months.

The Pilgrims left no doubt that this haven, for which they had patiently endured countless reverses, was primarily religious according to their interpretation of the Bible. But it was a haven that left room for some diversity of religious practice.

Thus, Christmas Day, 1621, was to them as any other day. Bradford dutifully called the Pilgrims to their work. But most of the London Strangers excused themselves. Bradford, after the manner of the tolerant Dutch, told them that "if they made it matter of conscience, he would spare them till they were better informed; so he led away the rest and left them." But when Bradford came home with the other workers at noon:

"He found them in the street at play, openly; some pitching the bar, and some at stool-ball (an early form of cricket) and such like sports. So he went to them and took away their implements, and told them that was against his conscience, that they should play and others work. If they made the keeping of it (Christmas) matter of devotion, let them keep [to] their houses; but there should be no gaming or reveling in the streets. Since which time nothing hath been attempted that way, at least openly."

FIRST THANKSGIVING, CELEBRATED IN FALL OF 1621. "AFTER RECURRING HARDSHIP AND SUFFERING, THE PILGRIMS SEEMED TO HAVE FOUND PEACE AND PLENTY."

CHAPTER

· XIII ·

Escaping the long shadow of famine

Despite earlier optimism, the settlers face near-starvation as new colonists arrive without food; but in time the colony achieves freedom from want.

The delight of that first Thanksgiving, and the Pilgrims' high hopes that they would henceforth have an abundant larder and the blessing of assured peace, quickly faded.

Freedom from hunger would not be gained until after the unexpected rain that saved the harvest of 1623. And the comforting proof that Massasoit was completely sincere would not come until that same year, when an alert from the chief, conveyed by Hobomok, would help to preserve the very life of the colony.

Celebration of the first Thanksgiving was hardly over when the Pilgrims, at first alarmed and then overjoyed, caught sight of the sails of the 55-ton ship *Fortune* as it entered their harbor on Nov. 11, 1621. It was the first ship from overseas since the Pilgrims arrived. Aboard were thirty-five passengers, including twelve Pilgrims, nine of whom were from Leyden. Twenty-three of the passengers had been assembled by the adventurers and were from the London area.

The newcomers' arrival created a problem, for they had no food. Winslow noted that the *Fortune* even had to receive food from the Pilgrims for their voyage home. When the *Fortune* left, on Dec. 13, Bradford felt forced to put the colony on half-rations — quite a sudden reversal from the festive Thanksgiving Day.

The *Fortune* had not been gone long when a messenger from the belligerent Narragansetts appeared at the plantation carrying a mysterious "bundle of new arrows lapped (wrapped) in a rattlesnake's skin."

Squanto explained that this was a challenge from the Narragansett sachem, Canonicus. Bradford, prompt to act in time of crisis, consulted with the colony's leaders. Then, said Winslow, "the Governor stuffed the skin with powder and shot, and sent it back, returning no less defiance to Canonicus," who most likely was angry over his enemy Massasoit's links with the Pilgrims.

Dread of musket fire had spread to even the Narragansetts. When the snakeskin arrived in the Indian camp, said Winslow, "it was no small terror to this savage king; insomuch as he would not once touch the powder or shot, or suffer it to stay in his house or country . . . and having been posted (sent) from place to place a long time, at length came whole back again."

To increase their security, the Pilgrims enclosed "their dwellings with a good strong pale, and made flankers (fortications adjoining the main fences) in convenient places with gates to shut, which were every night locked, and a watch kept." Capt. Standish divided his men into four squadrons and assigned them places to which "they were to repair upon any sudden alarm." This work was completed by March.

Then in June, a passing fishing vessel brought the shocking news that on March 22, 1622 — the same month the Pilgrims had finished their eight-foot palisade — the Indians in Virginia had massacred 347 Jamestown settlers. This "deadly stroake" would contribute two years later to the bankruptcy of the Virginia Company of London, which had created the first permanent English colony in America.

On receipt of the news of the massacre the Pilgrims, despite their "weakness and time of wants," started on a 10-months' effort to build, on top of Burial Hill, "a fort with good timber, both strong and comely, which was of good defense, made with a flat roof and battlements, on which their ordnance were mounted, and where they kept constant watch." The structure, said Bradford, also served the Pilgrims "for a meeting house and was fitted accordingly for that use." Here the revered Elder Brewster, the colony's religious leader, "taught twice every Sabbath" for many years.

Danger to the colony's existence did not come, however, at this timber fort-meetinghouse. Rather, the danger had been foreshadowed the previous November when the *Fortune* had brought a letter from the adventurer Thomas Weston, an enterprising man now grown callous and deceitful.

He rebuked the Pilgrims for wasting their time in "discoursing, arguing and consulting," as he imagined they must be doing, because the *Mayflower* had returned with no cargo. He warned that lack of profit could terminate support from the adventurers.

This heartless letter was addressed to Gov. Carver, whose dedication and toil had cost him his life. Bradford's response was prompt and pointed. He wrote Weston that as great as were the costs to the adventurers, the loss of Carver's life "and many other honest and industrious men's lives cannot be valued at any price." He told of the Pilgrims' suffering, so severe "that the living were scarce able to bury the dead." As for any who said the Pilgrims were idle, "their hearts can tell their tongues they lie."

Weston, always protesting friendship, had written in his hard letter, "I promise you I will never quit the business." Yet the Pilgrims gathered in the months that followed that he had done just that, and was adventuring on his own.

In May 1622, seven men in a shallop came from Damariscove, off the Maine coast, where Weston had a large ship fishing. The men brought "no victuals nor any hope of any." Weston sent word that he was planning a colony, and asked the Pilgrims meantime to house, "entertain and supply" these men.

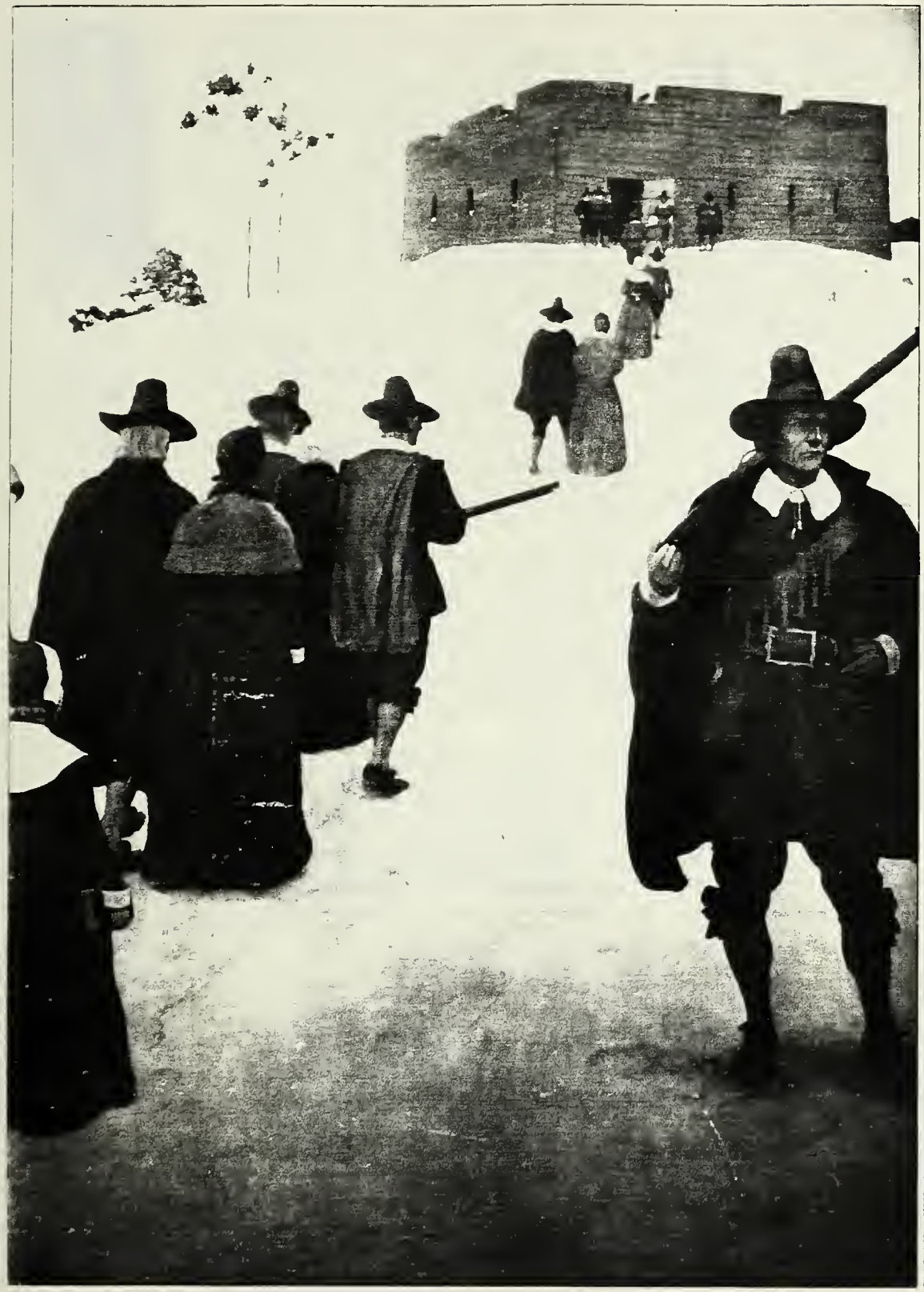
Weston did not stop there. Toward the end of June he sent two ships with "some 50 or 60" more men to stay with and be fed by the Pilgrims, themselves hungry and confronted by famine. Some of these men were deserving, said Winslow, but most were a "stain on old England that bred them."

The Pilgrims fed them, out of "compassion to the people . . . come into a wilderness," and in consideration of what Weston had "been unto them" and had done for them in the past. But the newcomers stole corn, made trouble, and repaid kindness with "secret backbitings and revilings." They even left their sick and lame behind in Plymouth when they took off at summer's end to establish Weston's colony at Wessagusset (Weymouth).

Weston's men, through waste, disorder and lack of leadership, gradually fell into such misery and dire straits — literally grubbing for food, some starving, some dying — as to bring upon them the contempt and enmity of the Indian neighbors they had wronged by their stealing of corn.

Leaders of the Massachusetts tribe began scheming with their Indian neighbors to rid themselves of Weston's colony. They quickly realized, however, said Winslow, that even if they spared the Plymouth colony, the Pilgrims "would never leave the death

NEW ENGLAND'S FIRST MARRIAGE UNITES EDWARD WINSLOW AND SUSANNA WHITE.



PILGRIMS ARE SHOWN ON THEIR WAY TO MEETINGHOUSE AT TOP OF BURIAL HILL. STRUCTURE, FINISHED IN 1623, ALSO SERVED AS FORT.

BY N. C. WYETH METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE CO.

PORTRAIT OF EDWARD WINSLOW, PAINTED IN LONDON IN 1651 BY SAME ARTIST WHO DID PORTRAIT OF OLIVER CROMWELL.

of our countrymen unrevenged; and therefore their safety could not be without the overthrow of both plantations."

One of the leading conspirators — husky, tall Wituwamat — was so confident of the outcome that, while seeking allies among the Cape Cod Indians, he declared in his native tongue, in the presence of the uncomprehending Capt. Standish, that the English "died crying . . . more like children than men."

At this juncture, in March of 1623, word reached Plymouth that Massasoit was sick and "like to die." Bradford at once sent Winslow "with some cordials (invigorating medicines) to administer to him." Hobomok went as guide.

Massasoit, blinded and suffering from days of constipation, was surrounded by his distressed followers, with the medicine men making "a hellish noise." The chief stretched out his hand to Winslow and said, "O Winslow, I shall never see thee again."

A cordial bottle had broken en route, but Winslow gave the sachem "a confection of many comfortable conserves" and dissolved some of the confection in water for him to drink. Then, on Massasoit's sight returning, Winslow made the chief some duck broth. Massasoit's health, as by magic, was restored after a few hours sleep. Whereupon he declared, "I see the English are my friends . . . whilst I live I will never forget this kindness."

When Winslow was about to leave, Massasoit called Hobomok to the inner council of his warriors, "revealed the plot of the Massachusetts . . . and advised us to kill the men of Massachusetts." Hobomok was to tell this to Winslow on their way home.

To thwart the plot, Bradford dispatched Capt. Standish, along with eight colonists and Hobomok, to go in the shallop to Wessagusset. There Standish helped the surviving Weston men quit their plantation after a fight that left seven Indians dead, among them Wituwamat.

The Pilgrims' speedy action "terrified and amazed" some of the absent conspirators, among them some of the nine chiefs who had signed the Sept. 13, 1621 peace accord. These ran away "like men distracted, living in swamps and other desert (isolated) places," where some died. Others sent peace gifts to Plymouth.

Massasoit, said Winslow, had saved the Pilgrims "when we were at the pit's brim and . . . knew not that we were in danger." Any uncertainty about Massasoit's pledge of peace was now gone. Massasoit would live into his 80s, to the fall of 1661, outlasting all the early leaders of the Pilgrim plantation; and always he kept peace with the Pilgrims.

Nearly two years would pass between the first and second Thanksgivings. At times, famine would be almost as close as during the worst days at Wessagusset, with the Pilgrims, their corn supply low, "enforced to live on groundnuts, clams, muscles [*sic*] and such other things as naturally the country afforded." They even had to draw on their precious seed corn to furnish provisions for Standish during his rescue mission to Wessagusset.

The ***Fortune***'s arriving with "not so much as a biscuit cake or any other victuals," resulting both from penuriousness of the adventurers and the four-month length of the passage, meant that the 1621 harvest so joyfully celebrated at the first Thanksgiving had, virtually overnight, become painfully inadequate. Bradford's ordering "six months at half allowance" seemed inadequate by May of 1622, when the Pilgrims' "provisions were wholly spent, and they looked hard for supply but none came."

Winslow explained that even in a country where fish and fowl seemed to abound, supply was controlled by seasons. You just do not, he said, "go into an orchard in the winter to gather cherries." As for fish, the Pilgrims at first lacked seines and proper tackle.

By the time Weston's men arrived — the seven forerunners in May 1622 and 50 to 60 more in June — the Pilgrim colony found famine had begun "to pinch them sore."

The arrival, also in June, of the fishermen's boat, though it brought the terrible news about the Jamestown Massacre, was providential. Bradford sent Winslow in a Pilgrim boat, getting pilotage from the fishermen, to the Maine waters off Monhegan and Damariscove to get some provisions.

Several benefits came from this trip. The fishing captains in Maine, even to the point of straining their own supplies, gladly contributed, and Winslow returned with "good quantity." The Pilgrims also learned the route to Maine.

Still, to make the food supply hold until harvest, Bradford limited distribution to "only a quarter-pound of bread a day to each person . . . till corn was ripe."

The 1622 harvest was a poor one, chiefly because of the Pilgrims' inability to tend their crop as they should have because of "their weakness for want of food." The harvest had also been reduced by the theft of green corn by Weston's men. As for purchasing corn, the Pilgrims faced a dilemma: "Markets there was none to go to but only the Indians," and the Pilgrims "had no trading commodities."

PROVIDENCE AGAIN CAME TO THE RESCUE. THE 60-ton *Discovery*, on its way from Jamestown to England, came into Plymouth Harbor. Its captain, though he proved a greedy, unprincipled trader, did sell the Pilgrims a good supply of beads and knives that were "then good trade" with the Indians.

That fall and during the winter of 1623, the Pilgrims made several trips to barter for corn with the Indians.

In this period — before the colonists had taught the Indians how to increase their corn crops by use of the English hoe — the Indians did not plant corn to excess. Still, the Pilgrims were able to acquire "about 26 or 28 hogsheads of corn and beans" — which, said Bradford, "was more than the Indians could well spare in these parts."

On one of the very first trips, in September, while Bradford was trading in Cape Cod's present Pleasant Bay, Squanto was stricken with a fever. He died within a few days. He was buried,

CAPT. MYLES STANDISH AND INDIAN GUIDE LEADING PILGRIM MILITIA ON PATROL.

deeply mourned, somewhere on the present Chatham-to-Orleans shore.

Planting time came in April 1623, when, with little corn supply left but "that preserved for seed . . . we thought best to leave off all other works and prosecute that most necessary."

Bradford and the "chiefest amongst them" made a basic decision aimed at speeding, if possible, the Pilgrims' freedom from famine. Despite the agreements made with the now-wavering adventurers, the Pilgrim leaders decided that the best way to get a better crop was to forgo holding it in common and to let each be responsible for his own supply. As Bradford told it, "they should set corn every man for his own particular, and in that regard to trust to themselves; in all other things to go on in the general way as before."

So, without its entailing any inheritance of the land, the Pilgrim leaders "assigned to every family a parcel of land according to the proportion of their number. This," said Bradford, "had very good success, for it made all hands very industrious, so as much more corn was planted than otherwise would have been by any means the Governor or any other could use."

Two ships from London — the 240-ton *Anne*, which came in mid-July 1623, and the accompanying (for a while) *Little James*, a 44-ton pinnace that arrived two weeks later — brought 93 more men, women and children to the colony.

These passengers, on arriving in their promised land and seeing the Pilgrims' "low and poor condition ashore . . . were much daunted and dismayed, and according to their divers humors were diversely affected. Some wished themselves in England again; others fell aweeping, fancying their own misery in what they saw now in others; others pitying the distress they saw their friends had been long in, and still were under. In a word, all were full of sadness.

"AND TRULY IT WAS NO MARVEL THEY should be thus affected, for they (the Pilgrims) were in a very low condition; many were ragged in apparel and some little better than half naked. But for food they were all alike, save some that had got a few peas of the ship that was last here."

The colony had been suffering a great drought since mid-May, so that the cornstalks that had been first set "began to send forth the ear before it came to half growth and that which was later not like to yield any at all." The beans were "parched away as though they had been scorched before the fire. Now were our hopes overthrown and we discouraged. . . ."

The devout Pilgrims, "in this great distress," gathered in mid-July in the new meetingbouse for a day of humiliation, "more solemnly to humble ourselves together before the Lord by fasting and prayer.

"But, O, the mercy of our God!" exclaimed Winslow. "For though in the morning, when we assembled together, the heavens were as clear, and the drought as like to continue as ever it was, yet (our exercise continuing some eight or nine hours), before our departure, the weather was overcast, the clouds gathered together on all sides, and on the next morning distilled such soft, sweet, and moderate showers of rain, continuing some 14 days . . . as it was hard to say whether our withered corn, or drooping affections, were most quickened and revived; such was the bounty and goodness of our God.

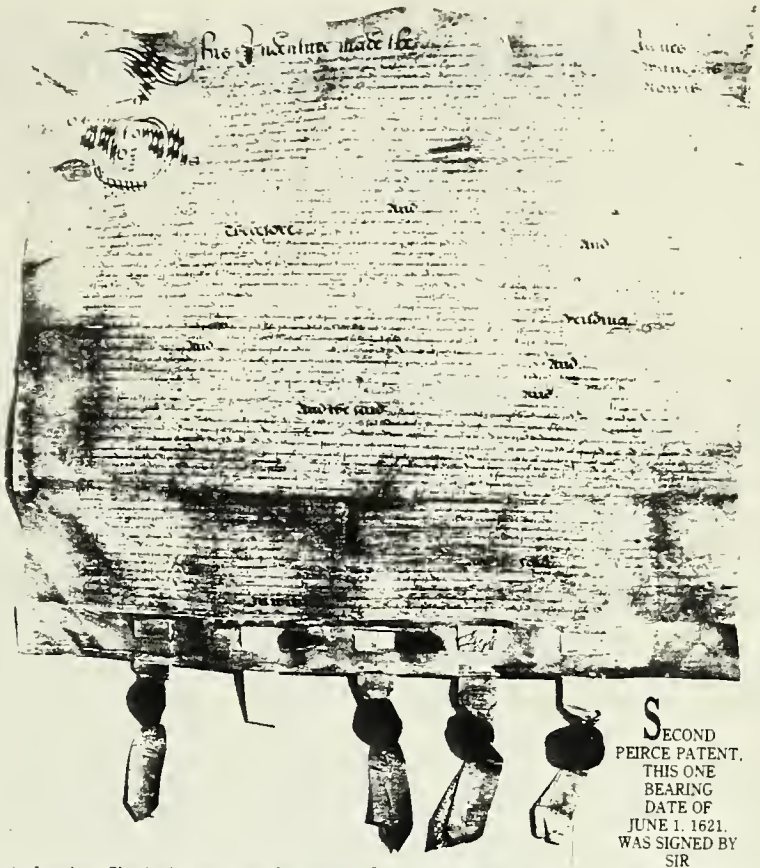
"Of this the Indians, by means of Hobomok, took notice," said Winslow. The transformation, added Bradford, "made the Indians astonished to behold."

Neither writer gave a precise date for the second Thanksgiving Day they then held in Plymouth; it was late July or early August. But of the celebration, Bradford rapturously observed:

"Instead of famine now God gave them plenty, and the face of things was changed, to the rejoicing of the hearts of many. . . .

"Any general want or famine hath not been amongst them since to this day."

Among the passengers who arrived on the *Anne* was one who brought joy to the face of Gov. Bradford. She was 33-year-old Alice Carpenter Southworth, a widow about a year his junior. Southworth was of the Leyden congregation and had been living



SECOND PEIRCE PATENT, THIS ONE BEARING DATE OF JUNE 1, 1621, WAS SIGNED BY SIR FERDINANDO GORGES AND ASSOCIATES.

in London. She had come with her sister, Juliana, who was married to George Morton and had four children. It was Morton who had most likely arranged the publication of early writings by Bradford and Winslow that became known as *Mourt's Relation*.

Not many days passed after the arrival of the ship before the widow, on Aug. 14, 1623, became the bride of Bradford.

Our only description of the wedding, and that brief, comes from a 23-year-old member of the gentry, Emmanuel Altham, one of the colony's adventurers and a military captain who had arrived in Plymouth as the supercargo of the *Little James*, intending to use the pinnace for trading and fishing.

In a letter to his brother, Sir Edward, young Capt. Altham told first of the arrival of Massasoit for the wedding:

The sachem, "as proper a man as ever was seen in this country," came with his squaw-sachem, the queen. Massasoit was attired "like the rest of his men, all naked but only a black wolf skin he wears upon his shoulder and about the breadth of a span he wears beads about his middle.

"With him came four other kings and about six score men with their bows and arrows — where, when they came to our town, we saluted them with the shooting off of many muskets and training our men. And so all the bows and arrows was brought into the Governor's house, and he brought the Governor three or four bucks and a turkey. And so we had very good pastime in seeing them (the Indians) dance, which is in such manner, with such noise that you would wonder.

"And now to say somewhat of the great cheer we had at the Governor's marriage. We had about 12 pasty (meat pie) venisons, besides others, pieces of roasted venison and other such good cheer in such quantity that I could wish you some of our share. For here we have the best grapes that ever you saw — and the biggest, and divers sorts of plums and nuts. . . ."

Any threat of famine — indeed, to the Pilgrims' survival — seemed gone at last from Plymouth.

CHAPTER
· XIV ·

Success in exploration and trade

New trading ventures in Maine and Connecticut along with much-improved corn crops help the Pilgrims to pay off their growing debts.

Liberation from an onerous burden of debt was not as quickly achieved by the Pilgrims as was the reaping of a satisfactory crop of corn or the establishing of peace with their neighbors. For as hospitable as Holland had been, 12 years of work in that country had not provided adequate funds to finance a plantation in a distant new land.

Debt did not alarm the Pilgrims, for they were conscientious, steady workers and their modest manner of life was thoroughly thrifty. They always felt certain they would, in time, be able to pay any debts, and that most willingly.

Still, few of them would have judged that this would take a full quarter of a century — and that even then, some of the leaders would have to turn over their own houses and land to satisfy the last of the creditors.

Fishing was at first believed to offer a speedy way to rid the Pilgrims of debt. King James had had a shrewd question back in 1618, when the Pilgrims' friends were seeking royal approval of the proposed colony. The king wondered what source of profit there could be in Northern Virginia; Winslow reported that the answer to His Majesty was, "Fishing."

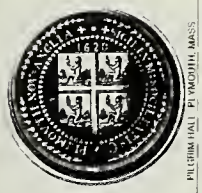
The Pilgrims, whose early acquaintance with the sea was quite limited, were convinced fishing *would* be the answer. Even in the fall of 1623, when Winslow sent his *Good Newes from New England* to be printed in London, he was still enthusiastic about it.

Fish in New England, he wrote, "was in as great abundance as in any other part of the world." He added a persuasive argument: If English merchants could enrich themselves by sending salt, men and ships "at a great charge (cost)" to fish in New England, what might the planters (Pilgrims) "expect when once they are seated, and make most of their salt there, and employ themselves at least eight months fishing?"

After another year's experience, though, the leaders of Plymouth had a profoundly different attitude. Even Capt. Altham, at first confident that there was easy profit to be made from the abundance the New World had to offer, became more realistic about the difficulty of converting abundance into profit after taking the *Little James* to Narragansett Bay and returning with only a small store of skins, "to my exceeding great grief."

As for the Pilgrims and fishing, Altham went on to say that he found that they had lacked proper equipment, but that they also had an even more serious problem: "How is it possible," asked Altham, "that those men that never saw fishing in their lives should raise profit by fishing?" A Plymouth colony investor himself, Altham warned in a 1624 letter to his brother, "This I say to you, that unless some other means be taken . . . no means of profit can be raised to the adventurers for their money again."

That same year, Bradford gave his ultimate judgment on what fishing had done for the plantation — an opinion prompted by the fact that the 100-ton *Charity* was about to leave Plymouth to fish off Cape Ann. The ship, as the adventurers desired, was to establish a fish-curing stage (light wharf) on Cape Ann under a new patent. "Fishing," declared a disillusioned Bradford, "[is] a thing fatal to this plantation."



PILGRIM HALL PLYMOUTH MASS

SEAL OF PLYMOUTH COLONY.

Bradford had reasons aplenty for his pessimism. The *Charity*, whose departure from London had been delayed by disputes among the adventurers, turned out to be "too late for the fishing season." Besides, said Bradford, the ship's master was "a very drunken beast"; the man sent from London to make salt was an incompetent; and the ship's carpenter, sent to build boats — a good man — died of a fever after building but two shallops.

Moreover, the *Little James*, after being forced by a storm in Narragansett Bay to cast its mainmast overboard, was driven by another storm upon rocks at Damariscove, and sank, with the loss of the master and two sailors. The ship was later salvaged. But all these costs were added to the Pilgrims' debt.

The *Charity*, on its March 1624 arrival in Plymouth, had nevertheless brought something that would prove a tremendous benefit to the plantation. Winslow, returning after a diplomatic mission to England, had fetched with him "the first beginning of any cattle" in New England — three heifers and a bull.

Recognition that the cattle were a godsend to Plymouth's prosperity, however, would not occur for several years, when livestock became one of the two main sources for the discharging of the Pilgrims' ever-mounting debt.

The other source was fur, especially beaver, which would lead to exploration, expansion and the establishment of trade. This was also a slow development, because the Pilgrims on arrival were "altogether unprovided for trade." Neither, Bradford continued, "was there any amongst them that ever saw a beaver skin till they came here and were informed by Squanto."

The Pilgrims had brought "a few trifling commodities," and later acquired some beads and knives that helped in their earliest meetings with the Indians. In addition, by the time Bradford gave his baleful appraisal of fishing, the Pilgrims had learned how to bring in plentiful harvests.

Corn, completely homegrown, was superb for barter. "They began now highly to prize corn as more precious than silver," said Bradford, "for money they had none, and if any had, corn was preferred before it." The harvest of 1625 was abundant, and the year so pleasant that Bradford declared that the Pilgrims had "never felt the sweetness of the country till this year."

The Pilgrims then tried something new: carrying corn in one of the shallops that the *Charity*'s carpenter had built after they had "laid a little deck over her midships to keep the corn dry."

Having no seamen, Bradford sent the dauntless Winslow and some other old planters to Maine — the route that Winslow had sailed to seek food from the fishing fleet during 1622, the year of near-starvation. This time, he went to seek trade.

There are few more courageous or daring episodes in our early history than Winslow's sailing to the Kennebec River, and miles up this strange river to the present site of the capital of Maine, Augusta, then an Indian village called Cushnoc. "God preserved them," said Bradford, and the expedition "brought home 700 pounds of beaver . . . having little or nothing else but this corn which themselves had raised out of the earth." The Pilgrims had thus arrived at the threshold of extensive trading.

Meantime, particularly in 1624-1626, the financial arrangements between the Pilgrims and the adventurers were undergoing drastic change.

WEST HARTFORD TOWN OFFICE

LT. HOLMES AND PILGRIM CREW ERECT FIRST HOUSE IN WINDSOR, CONN. GROUP WENT THERE IN 1633 IN EFFORT TO EXPAND TRADE WITH INDIANS.

PILGRIM HALL, PLYMOUTH, MASS.

PILGRIMS AT PRAYER MEETING.

GOOD
NEWES
FROM NEW-ENGLAND:
OR
A true Relation of things very remarkable at the Plantation of *Plimoth* in NEW-ENGLAND.

Shewing the wondrous providence and goodnes of GOD, in their preservation and continuance, *being delivered from many apparant deaths and dangers.*

Together with a Relation of such religious and civill Lawes and Customes, as are in practise amongst the *Indians*, adjoyning to them at this day. As also *what Commodities are there to be raysed for the maintenance of them and other Plantations in the said Country.*

Written by *E. W.* who hath borne a part in the fore-named troubles, and there lived since their first Arrivall.

Wherevnto is added by him a briefe Relation of a credible intelligence of the present estate of *Virginia.*

LONDON
Printed by *I. D.* for *William Bladen* and *John Bellamie*, and are to be *sold* in their Shops, at the *Bible* in *Paule*-Church-yard, and at the three Golden Lyons in Corne-hill, neere the Royall Exchange. 1624.

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY

TITLE PAGE OF EDWARD WINSLOW'S OPTIMISTIC ACCOUNT OF EARLY PLYMOUTH, PUBLISHED IN 1624.

Purse strings in London, far from liberal from the start, had tightened when the *Mayflower* returned without profit. To keep open the Pilgrims' only source of credit, Robert Cushman — a Pilgrim deacon who stayed behind when the colonists left the Old World — had come over on the *Fortune* in late 1621 to get the Pilgrims to sign (which they did) the harsh terms they had rejected when the *Mayflower* was about to leave Southampton.

The fact that the Pilgrims loaded the *Fortune* with "good as full as she could stow and two hogsheads of beaver and otter skins" loosened purse strings in England despite the fact that the ship was pillaged by French pirates, who seized and then released the vessel on its way back.

Weston's withdrawal from the joint stock company was followed by that of others, as the voyages of the *Anne*, the *Little James* and the *Charity* failed to produce anticipated profits.

Two years of cross-ocean negotiations, conducted by Isaac Allerton for the colony, produced a new agreement that was signed on Nov. 16, 1626.

Only 42 of the original 70-odd adventurers signed in London. Some had withdrawn for reasons other than lack of profit. Official persecution of religious dissent had been increasing in England under the second Stuart king, Charles I. Adventurers responsive to it, and sensitive about the colonists' Separatism, had blocked the Pilgrims' beloved pastor, Rev. John Robinson, and others of the Leyden congregation from getting to Plymouth.

Under the new agreement, Gov. Bradford and seven other Pilgrim leaders, calling themselves the "undertakers," agreed to pay off 1800 English pounds at 200 pounds each year at the Royal Exchange in London, besides "some 600 more" pounds in other debts. This made possible a 1627 division of land in Plymouth among the 156 colonists, with each group of six receiving a cow, two goats and some swine. The undertakers were granted full control — a monopoly — of the colony's trade for six years so as to discharge the debt "which lay so heavily" on the colony.

To make trading easier, the Pilgrims in 1627 built a small pinnace at Manomet, then on Buzzards Bay, "a place 20 miles from the plantation." Bradford had first seen Manomet in January 1623, when seeking corn. He went roughly along the route of the present Cape Cod Canal, up Scusset Creek on the east to the short carrying place and then down the small Manomet River to Buzzards Bay on the west.

The Pilgrims also built, near the bay in Manomet, a "house of hewn oak planks, called Aptucxet, where they keep two men, winter and summer, in order to maintain trade and possession." Those words are in an eyewitness account from the secretary of New Amsterdam (Manhattan), Isaack de Rasieres, who in October 1627 — after an exchange of letters with Bradford — came via Aptucxet to Plymouth to discuss trade.

The Dutch had converted trading posts into settlements at Albany in 1624 and New Amsterdam in 1626. De Rasieres on this visit introduced the Pilgrims to wampum (shell beads used as money by the Indians) — in the hope, he said, of getting the Pilgrim trade for it, thus keeping them from discovering the fur trade with Indians living to the westward. But, pressed by debt, the Pilgrims went ahead anyway.

Some Indians who had been driven from the Connecticut River valley by rival Indians, the Pequots, urged the Pilgrims to trade for furs. In the summer of 1632, fearless Edward Winslow became the first Englishman to sail up the Connecticut River for discovery and trade. Winslow even selected the site where the Pilgrims would the next year found Windsor, one of Connecticut's oldest settlements.

Then, in 1633, Winslow was elected governor, replacing Bradford temporarily. In September of that year Winslow sent a different leader, Lt. William Holmes, to Connecticut.

To get ahead of the English, the Dutch had three months earlier established a "slight fort and planted two pieces of ordnance" at present Hartford. But despite Dutch threats to fire on them, Lt. Holmes and his Pilgrim companions sailed a short way upriver to the Windsor site they had bought from the Indians. On Sept. 26, they "clapped up" the small frame house they had brought in their bark and surrounded it with a palisade.

Here the Pilgrims traded for furs until 1637. By then they had sold off most of their land to the more numerous emigrants coming westward from the Puritan colony John Winthrop had founded in 1630 at Boston.

On the Penobscot River in Maine, the Pilgrims' debt grew heavier when French colonists from Acadia, which encompassed much of Canada's present maritime region, in 1631 robbed, and in 1635 took over, the Pilgrim trading post near present Castine — a venture in which the Pilgrims had been reluctantly involved by Isaac Allerton. On the Kennebec River, however, profits from the fur trade contributed heavily to clearing the Pilgrims of debt.

AFTER WINSLOW'S DISCOVERY OF AN INDIAN village below the falls of the Kennebec, Allerton in 1628 secured a patent in London so that the Pilgrims could have a solid claim to the area.

The Pilgrims erected a house on the site of present Fort Western, which is diagonally across the river from Maine's state capitol. They stocked it with corn, and with commodities that fishermen had traded to them: "coats, shirt rugs, and blankets, biscuit, peas, prunes, etc."

The Dutch had been right about wampum. The Pilgrims could scarcely obtain enough for the eager inland Indians.

However, Allerton's patent proved to be so "ill bounded," leaving the Cushnoc area open to rivals, that the Pilgrims sought a renewal. And on Jan. 13, 1630, the Warwick Patent, though it pertained chiefly to the Plymouth colony, also clearly defined the Kennebec grant. (This precision was most likely attributable to Winslow's extensive knowledge of the Indians and the wilderness.) The patent covered miles along the Kennebec River at present Augusta, and 15 miles inland on either side of the river.

Literally tons of beaver and other furs were freighted for years from here to the British market through the Pilgrims' partners in London. After the new, 1626 agreement was signed, there were four of the London adventurers who functioned as the Pilgrims' factors — receiving, storing and selling shipments, and purchasing requested commodities. These Londoners also acted as partners and provided credit.

As Pilgrim trade expanded, so did the record of transactions. The Pilgrims, not highly experienced as businessmen, were completely trusting. Cross-Atlantic differences arose as the record grew increasingly lengthy and confusing.

A profoundly embarrassing development was the Pilgrims' coming to believe that Isaac Allerton, long their agent in dealing with the adventurers, had, as Bradford expressed it, "played his own game." They felt that losses and expenses he had incurred on his own had been charged to them. Winslow was chosen to replace Allerton as agent, and Allerton left the plantation and went to Marblehead, where he operated a fishing fleet.

The sums involved exceeded by many times the 1800 English pounds mentioned in the 1626 agreement. Plymouth and London disagreed basically on the size of the debt. Despite the quantity of records extant, a positive judgment is elusive. The records were sloppy, with some items being charged three times. Fluctuations in prices and usurious interest rates — as high as 50 percent — produced misunderstandings, sharp letters, and even had the London adventurers suing one another.

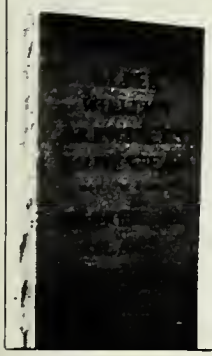
In time the leaders in Plymouth, though they felt they had "to sustain the greatest wrong," were growing aged and "were loath to leave these entanglements upon their children." So, in a "composition by mutual agreement" on Oct. 15, 1641, the parties on both sides of the ocean fixed the amount of the debt. And when the Londoners signed it, in 1642, they benevolently agreed that their proceeds were to be used for church purposes in both the new Bay colony and in the Plymouth colony.

One of the Londoners did bold out, demanding payment on a separate, disputed debt. Finally, in 1645, Bradford and his fellow undertakers, to terminate all claims, agreed to pay this demand despite the fact that even one of the claimant's fellow adventurers declared that there existed no "good proof" for it.

The claim was paid by Bradford, Winslow, Standish and others selling some houses of their own and many acres of land, both in Plymouth and in the newer towns of Rehoboth and Marshfield.

At last, title to the haven for which the Pilgrims had been sacrificing and patiently laboring was completely theirs.

PLAQUE MARKS SITE OF ELDER WILLIAM BREWSTER'S FORMER HOME IN DUXBURY.



An end to Plymouth's preeminence

A fast-growing Boston eclipses the Pilgrim town as New England's center, but the two colonies form close bonds, both religious and commercial.

CHAPTER
· XV ·

Plymouth's role as the prime community and seaport of New England was drastically — and in just a few years — changed by a rising tide of Puritan colonization that began in 1628.

On Sept. 6, 1628, the 120-ton *Abigail*, which had left England about 11 weeks earlier, sailed past Cape Ann into the harbor of Naumkeag (Salem). On board was the willful, austere John Endecott with some 40 colonists, along with cattle and supplies, come to prepare the way for what would be larger contingents of settlers of the then embryonic Massachusetts Bay Company.

Endecott preemptively took over the small, struggling pioneer settlement initiated at Naumkeag by the Dorchester Company, a group from the west of England that had been seeking since 1623 to establish a colony and religious haven on Cape Ann. Endecott's backers had bought out the company.

At the time of Endecott's arrival the Naumkeag colony was being run by a sturdy Puritan, Roger Conant, who had arrived on his own in Plymouth on the *Anne* in 1623, left the following year and went on to found Naumkeag in 1626.

Happily, Endecott and Conant's "old settlers" were able to compose their differences; and promptly, in gratitude, the Naumkeag plantation was renamed Salem, a biblical word for peace.

By the winter of 1628-1629 Salem was suffering difficulties such as the Pilgrims had experienced in their early years — privations and illness. Many, including Endecott's wife, were fatally stricken.

Endecott appealed to Gov. Bradford for help, and he dispatched Plymouth's only physician, Samuel Fuller, after which Endecott thanked Bradford for his "kind love and care in sending Mr. Fuller amongst us." This intercolony friendship would be long-lasting.

Plymouth's population of roughly 200 was exceeded in 1629 with the arrival in Salem of six vessels with 406 settlers sent by the Massachusetts Bay Company. These vessels brought the Puritans an impressive copy of the new Massachusetts Bay charter that King Charles had approved March 4, 1629, along with provisions, cows, goats, horses and "great pieces of ordnance."

For the Pilgrims, there were some new settlers for whom Plymouth had been waiting many years — about 45 of the Leyden congregation were among the passengers on two of the vessels that arrived in Salem.

Their passage had been arranged through Isaac Allerton in London and the cost was contentedly added to the Pilgrim debt. Among these Pilgrims was 19-year-old Thomas Willett, who would ably serve the Plymouth colony and would one day become the first English mayor of New York.

Fuller's influence on Salem's settlers was far more than medicinal. Fuller had been a deacon since 1609 in Leyden, and in the zealous Endecott he found an admiring supporter. Endecott even wrote to Bradford, in May 1629, that Fuller had satisfied him "touching your judgments of the outward form of God's worship. It is, as far as I can gather, no other than is warranted by the evidence of truth."

Endecott lost no time in acting on this belief. On July 20, about a month after the 1629 ship arrivals began, Endecott held "a solemn day of humiliation" to select a pastor and a ministerial teacher. And he picked Aug. 6 for another day of humiliation, to choose elders and deacons, and to hold ordinations.

Head winds prevented Gov. Bradford and other Plymouth leaders from reaching Salem in time for the ordinations, but they got there to join the feasting and to extend "the right-hand of fellowship."

Thus the first Congregational Church, in the manner Fuller had described to Endecott, was organized in the Bay colony. The covenant adopted by the settlers is still extant.

Among the clergy who came over in 1629 was a Separatist Cambridge University graduate, Rev. Ralph Smith. After serving briefly as minister to a small, straggling settlement at Nantasket (Hull) in outer Boston Harbor, Rev. Smith was late that year chosen and ordained as the first pastor of the church in Plymouth, in much the same way Salem had organized its church the prior summer. (The Pilgrims' faithful pastor, Rev. Robinson, had died in Leyden March 1, 1625.)

Plymouth's ascendancy as New England's foremost port plainly declined in June and July of 1630 with the arrival of Gov. John Winthrop with the original Massachusetts Bay charter and eleven ships, 700 settlers and tons of supplies — the largest fleet of colonists that had, up to that time, set sail from England.

Actually, besides hundreds of sailors to man the ships, the overall number of settlers would approximate 1000. In May, preceding Winthrop's eleven ships, came two others from the west of England that brought 220 settlers, who would organize the town of Dorchester. And four more ships would arrive later in the year. One of the last of these was the *Handmaid* from London, which, before proceeding to Boston, left 47 of its 60 passengers at Plymouth. These were the last of the Leyden congregation brought over by the Pilgrims.

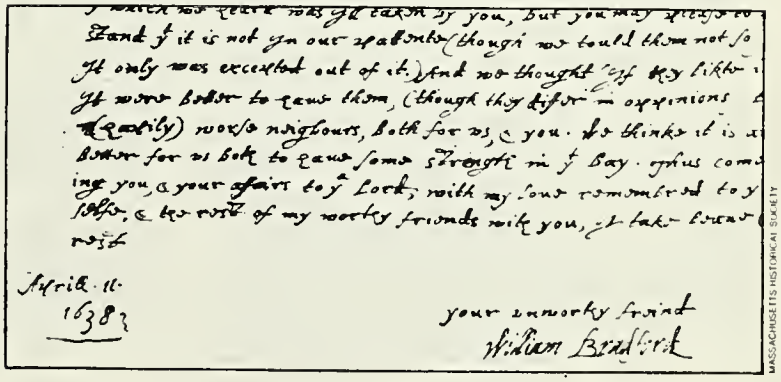
"As one small candle may light a thousand," said Bradford, the light kindled by Plymouth "hath shone unto many, yea in some sort to our whole nation. Let the glorious name of Jehovah have all the praise."

Plymouth had long been seen as a beacon to other colonists. One of our earliest historians, Rev. William Hubbard, wrote that

MASSACHUSETTS STATE HOUSE

GOV. JOHN WINTHROP, FIRST LEADER OF BAY COLONY.

LETTER FROM BRADFORD TO WINTHROP IN 1638 ABOUT ANNE HUTCHINSON, WHO WAS BANISHED FROM BAY COLONY.

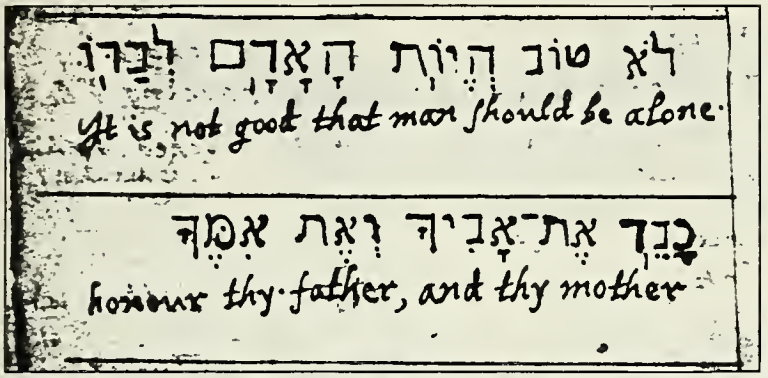


…Yet it is not yn our p[ar]tes (though we could thinke not so
…only was excepted out of it.) And we thought [it] by [the] like
…were better to leave them, (though they differ in opinions
…(quietly) worse neighbours, both for us, & you. We thinke it is a
…better for us both to have some strength in [the] Bay. thus com-
…ing you, & your affairs to [the] Lord, with my loue remembred to [yr]
…selfe, & the rest of my worthy friends with you, I take leave
…rest

April. 11.
1638

your unworthy friend
William Bradford

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY



BRADFORD MANUSCRIPT, STATE LIBRARY AND THE ARCHIVES MUSEUM

BRADFORD STUDIED HEBREW TO LEARN "HOLY TONGUE . . . IN WHICH GOD AND THE ANGELS SPOKE TO THE HOLY PATRIARCHS OF OLD TIME."

IN 1639 BAY COLONY'S GENERAL COURT AUTHORIZED OPENING OF COLONY'S, AND AMERICA'S, FIRST GUNPOWDER MILL.

BANK OF BOSTON

the fame of Plymouth, "with the success thereof, was spread abroad" and encouraged investors.

Friendship continued to grow between the Plymouth and Boston settlers; they were more naturally companions than rivals. Religious convictions had inspired both their emigrations, and their difference in religion was mostly in their degree of Puritanism.

Winthrop and Bradford made visits to each other's colonies. They also consulted on problems. An immediate, grievous one for Plymouth, a highly law-abiding community, was how it should deal with its first murder, which occurred just a few weeks after Winthrop's arrival. (This was in the very month — September 1630 — that the Puritans rechristened "Trimountaine," naming it Boston in honor of Rev. Cotton, who came from Boston in Lincolnshire.)

The violent and profane John Billington of London had waylaid a young man in Plymouth after a quarrel, and shot him. Winthrop, said Bradford, "concurred with them that he ought to die and the land be purged from blood." Billington had been "found guilty of wilful murder by plain and notorious evidence . . . and was for the same accordingly executed." It was the first of very few executions in Plymouth.

Rampant illness and death, the common lot of America's pioneer plantations, would be the tragic experience of Winthrop's colonists, too. Deputy Gov. Thomas Dudley told of the Puritans' shock when the *Arbella*, Winthrop's flagship, arrived in Salem on June 12, 1630. "We found the colony in a sad and unexpected condition, above eighty of them being dead the winter before; and many of those alive weak and sick; all the corn and bread amongst them all hardly sufficient to feed them for a fortnight. . . ."

In July Winthrop shifted his settlers to Charlestown. Salem, as Dudley explained, had "pleased us not." But sickness and mortality followed them. Plymouth's Fuller, who had already treated the first settlers in Dorchester — where he "let some 20 of these people blood" — also went to Charlestown.

"The sad news here," he wrote to Bradford, "is that many are sick, and that many are dead. The Lord in mercy look upon them! I can do them no good, for I want (lack) drugs, and things fitting to work with."

When incoming ships brought word (for war was raging in Europe) that there were "some French preparations against us," the newcomers built "dispersedly" on the Charles and Mystic rivers. The building effort — "lest the winter should surprise us" — was interrupted by illness. "Many died weekly," said Dudley, "yea, almost daily." It might be said of them, as of "those of Plymouth," that "there is not a house where there is not one dead, and in some houses many."

As the Puritans' ships started back to Europe, "not much less than a hundred (some think many more), partly out of dislike of our government, which restrained and punished their excesses, and partly through fear of famine . . . went from us. . . ." Later, when Dudley learned that many of those who left had died, he remarked, "We see there are graves in other places as well as with us."

Things began improving for the colony early in 1631 when the *Lion*, which had been hastened back to Europe by Winthrop on this mission, arrived in Boston Feb. 9 with "fresh supplies of victuals." Its safe arrival led to Feb. 22's being set as "a general day of Thanksgiving throughout the whole colony."

There was still another Thanksgiving Day that fall in a much better off, indeed, a comfortably supplied colony. On Nov. 4, after the *Lion* came again to Boston — this time with 60 passengers — Winthrop was able to welcome his wife and their children. There was widespread joy despite the death en route of the child whose birth had kept Margaret Winthrop from traveling with her husband.

Compared to Plymouth, the Bay colony's growth in population was meteoric. Fully 200 ships, with emigrants fleeing the dictatorial, disintegrating rule of King Charles, arrived in Boston in the decade of the 1630s. By 1635 the colony's population was 7000 (which Plymouth colony would not approach until the late 1670s) and by 1640 the Bay had 16,000 settlers.

Their arrival in the Bay, with many moving on into the interior, created a highly profitable market. Telling of it, Bradford wrote: "It pleased God in these times so to bless the country with such access and confluence of people into it, as it was thereby much enriched, and cattle of all kinds stood at a high rate for divers years together. . . . Corn also went at a round rate." And so did the English wheat they had started planting in the Plymouth colony.

Boston, with its harbor far broader and deeper than Plymouth's, had quickly become the New England center for trade, commerce and finance.

Plymouth, exchanging its cattle, corn and wheat, could more advantageously obtain its English necessities in the Boston rather than the English market. When the London adventurers came to settling accounts with Plymouth, one transaction was completed by Gov. Bradford's sending cattle to Boston to settle an adventurer's account with Gov. Winthrop.

Rev. Roger Williams, who was banished from the Bay colony in 1636, had been in New England for five years and had resided in both Plymouth and Boston. The clergyman — who, with Winthrop's covert help, fled so as to escape deportation to England — was certainly a firsthand and unprejudiced observer when he described Boston, only five years after its founding, as "the chief mart and port of New England."

Becoming a part of the Bay colony

Stalwart and successful in the Indian wars but not so effective at fighting for a charter, the Pilgrims are formally linked to their Puritan neighbors.

CHAPTER
· XVI ·

Gov. Bradford, with church in mind rather than "the enriching of themselves," was always eager to keep the original Pilgrim congregation intact in Plymouth. But the need for more land for farms and pasturage powerfully attracted Pilgrims to more plentiful and arable land, at first in present Kingston, then part of Plymouth, on the Jones River, and in Duxbury and Marshfield.

The profitable Boston market also caused the number of Plymouth communities to expand, as children of the early Pilgrims sought their own farms on which to grow produce for sale or trade. Some Puritan newcomers chose to create homesteads within the Plymouth colony, particularly in its western region, and these looked more to Boston than to Plymouth as their market and commercial center.

On March 2, 1641, when Gov. Bradford assigned to the growing body of freemen the 1630 Warwick Patent that had made the grant of the Plymouth colony to him, he listed the colony's "divers townships" as these: Plymouth, Duxbury, Scituate, Taunton, Sandwich, Yarmouth, Barnstable, Marshfield, and not long after, Seekonk (later called Rehoboth) and Nauset (later called Eastham).

By 1640 the famous Long Parliament had assembled in England, a prelude to Great Britain's civil war that brought King Charles to the block and elevated Oliver Cromwell to be lord protector of the Puritan Commonwealth. The gathering civil storm brought the great emigration to New England to a halt — in fact, many Bay Puritans headed back to England to take part in the struggle.

The price of cattle, corn and wheat in the Boston market plummeted. Yet the self-reliant settlers of Plymouth, virtually all involved in farming, were able to manage. And gradually, the depression was much relieved by the opening, via Boston, of increased trade with the West Indies.

The exodus from Plymouth for better and more land had led Bradford and those remaining to consider moving in 1644, in an effort to hold the church body together, to Nauset on Cape Cod. A group sent there to study the suggestion advised that the Pilgrims would be wiser to remain in Plymouth, since it had a better harbor and sufficient space for the entire remaining congregation. But some went to Nauset anyway, leading Bradford to grieve:

"Thus was this poor church left, like an ancient mother grown old and foresaken of her children . . . and she like a widow left only to trust in God."

On the death of Elder Brewster on April 16, 1643, Bradford — an orphan who had been like a son to Brewster — marveled at the longevity of the Pilgrim Fathers despite "what crosses, troubles, fears, wants and sorrows they had been liable unto. . . . What was it that upheld them? It was God's visitation that preserved their spirits."

Brewster was "near 80" when he died. Edward Winslow, Bradford's sturdy lieutenant and a governor in his own right, left Plymouth on a mission to England in 1646 and died at sea in the West Indies on military assignment for Oliver Cromwell. Winslow was nearly 60. Valiant Capt. Myles Standish died in his house at the foot of Captain's Hill in Duxbury on Oct. 3, 1656. He was 72.

Bradford himself, who had been elected 30 times as the Pilgrims' governor, died on May 8, 1657. He was 67.

Bradford's death was, as Rev. Cotton Mather said, "lamented by all the colonies of New England," for he was regarded "as a common blessing and father to them all." Bradford had devoted much of his final year to study of another tongue, Hebrew, "to see with my own eyes something of that most ancient language, and holy tongue . . . in which God and the angels spoke to the holy patriarchs of old time."

Bradford died in his dwelling in Plymouth — at the northwest corner where New England's oldest thoroughfare, Leyden street, crosses the main street, and diagonally opposite where Elder Brewster had lived for so many years. Bradford's remains were carried up Burial Hill, directly in back of his house and garden, and interred. He was the last of the Pilgrim Fathers — and in the neighboring Bay colony even Gov. John Winthrop, his friend, had predeceased him.

Protecting the security of the settlers — defense — had been a problem from the moment the Pilgrims arrived and began exploring on Cape Cod. Defense continued a vital need throughout the life of the plantation, and ultimately became the decisive factor in the royal action in London that would bring to a close the independent governance of the Plymouth colony.

Capt. Standish, with his militia, was long the Pilgrims' shield, and the peace with Massasoit was long their guarantee. Plymouth over the years stood ready to help in each of the New England region's wars. In 1637, after an appeal from Gov. Winthrop, Plymouth had a bark and 50 armed men ready to shove off for the war against the Pequot Indians in Connecticut when word came from the Bay that "the enemy was as good as vanquished."

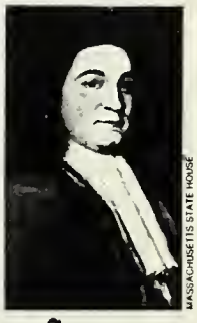
In 1643, Bradford reported that Massasoit's enemies, the Narragansetts, had been plotting against the English "ever since the Pequot War." In that year Plymouth joined the colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut (then encompassing the area in and around present Hartford) and New Haven in a New England Confederation to protect themselves from the Narragansetts. They also wanted to be prepared for raids by the French or Dutch now that England's civil war, which had erupted in 1642, was raging.

In the calamitous 1675-1676 war with King Philip, son of Massasoit, the Plymouth colony, though the least populous and prosperous of the New England Confederation colonies, played a crucial role.

Josiah Winslow — son of former Gov. Edward Winslow — had been elected governor in 1673. He served as commander in chief of the confederation militia in the bloody Great Swamp Fight of Dec. 19, 1675 — a battle that eliminated the powerful Narragansetts, then a key ally of King Philip, as a combat force.

It was also Josiah Winslow who called Capt. Benjamin Church from services in the Plymouth meetinghouse, and sent him on the mission during which Church, along with friendly Indians, tracked down King Philip in a swamp in Mount Hope (in present Bristol, R. I.) on Aug. 12, 1676. This ended warfare that had left hardly a colonial family without a victim, and 13 of the Bay and Plymouth colonies' 75 towns destroyed, with 40 others ravaged by flames.

Following the Glorious Revolution of 1688 that deposed King

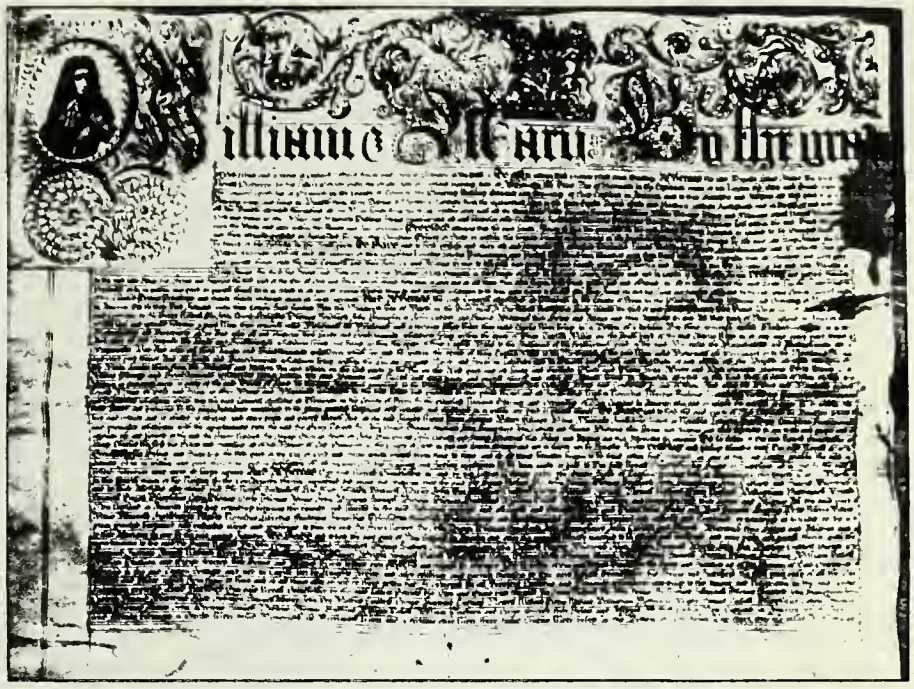


MASSACHUSETTS STATE HOUSE

SIR WILLIAM PHIPS, FIRST GOVERNOR OF COMBINED BAY AND PLYMOUTH COLONIES AND MILITARY COMMANDER OF ALL NEW ENGLAND COLONIES.

PILGRIM HALL, PLYMOUTH, MASS.

JOSIAH WINSLOW, WHO LIKE HIS FATHER, EDWARD, WAS GOVERNOR OF PLYMOUTH COLONY.



STATE LIBRARY AND THE ARCHIVES MUSEUM

WILLIAM AND MARY CHARTER (ABOVE RIGHT) THAT UNITED PLYMOUTH AND BAY COLONIES IN 1691.

ANCIENT AND HONORABLE ARTILLERY COMPANY, FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON

GREAT SWAMP FIGHT OF DEC. 19, 1675, IN WHICH NARRAGANSETTS — POWERFUL ALLIES OF KING PHILIP — WERE ELIMINATED AS COMBAT FORCE.

James II, last of the Stuart kings, and replaced him with King William and Queen Mary, Plymouth once again tried to obtain a charter.

The charters of all the New England colonies had been vacated by James II, who set up Sir Edmund Andros as governor of the "Dominion of New England." With all the colonists' hard-won self-government abolished, Andros ruled with his royally picked council. When news of the Glorious Revolution reached Boston, in April of 1689, Andros, amid great rejoicing, was promptly imprisoned and held for transport to England.

Plymouth, unlike its neighboring colonies, had never had a charter. But prospects for getting one seemed excellent after Gov. Winslow's successes in King Philip's War. King Charles II was agreeable; he even wrote to Winslow promising a charter. But Winslow, at only 52 years of age, was stricken by a fatal illness as he was completing arrangements with London to get the charter. And by the time the Pilgrims tried again, the court's attitude had changed and charters, like the Bay's, were being revoked. Then new warfare in the late 1600s dimmed Plymouth's final hopes for a charter.

The Pilgrims were still suffering from the staggering loss in lives and property they had sustained in King Philip's War when there came new demands. By 1688 another war — King William's War, which would last eight years — had gotten under way, the start of nearly a century of recurrent conflicts between the French and the English for domination of America.

Plymouth quickly encountered difficulties when it began pressing its towns for yet more men and taxes. It also found itself unable to raise sufficient funds to send to London to finance the quest for a charter, even as the Bay colony, New York, Rhode Island and Connecticut were maneuvering to take over Plymouth

FINALLY, WHEN KING WILLIAM HAD THE GREAT seal affixed to the new Massachusetts Bay charter on Oct. 7, 1691, the Plymouth colony was included in the New England territory of the Bay colony, along with Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket — both of which had belonged to New York — and all of Maine.

The king and the Privy Council embedded in the wording of the 1691 charter the reason for including the Plymouth colony. It was, as the charter reads, so that "our colony of New Plymouth in New England may be brought under such a form of government as may put them in a better condition of defense."

Any doubt about this was certainly dispelled when the man who negotiated the Bay charter, Rev. Increase Mather, arrived back in wartime Boston with the new royal governor, Sir William Phips, a parishioner of Rev. Mather's in the then Old North Church in Boston's Old North Square.

Phips, first governor of both the Bay and Plymouth, had already commanded military campaigns in Nova Scotia and Quebec. Besides being named royal governor, he was to be military commander in chief of all the New England colonies.

Some at the time suspected that Rev. Mather's considerable influence in London had brought about the merger. But most in Plymouth, which would eventually organize a Day of Thanksgiving, soon seemed content.

Economically, agricultural Plymouth had long been a supplier of the Bay. The religions of the two colonies — the rock on which both had been founded — were virtually the same. And the union with the most populous and wealthy of the New England colonies gave Plymouth immediate assurance of strong defense.

For most Pilgrims the transition was easy and natural. The biggest change was that citizens in Plymouth's territory — the three counties into which the colony had been divided in 1685, roughly present Plymouth, Bristol and Barnstable counties — looked henceforth to Boston as the colony's capital, and the elected deputies from the towns sat in the Great and General Court in Boston.

In 1620, when the Pilgrims were leaving — "to begin," as Edward Winslow called it, "the great work of plantation in New England" — they received a letter at Southampton from their pastor in Leyden, Rev. John Robinson.

The pastor noted that they were about to become "a body politic using amongst yourselves civil government." Their objective and that of their chosen magistrates should always be, he advised, to "diligently promote the common good."

The Pilgrims on arrival did not have advantages such as their Puritan neighbors had, with so many being of the gentry, college-educated and wealthy.

The Puritans, within five years of their arrival, adopted a general law requiring their towns to provide public education — a law Plymouth did not approximate until 1662, though some Pilgrim towns had schools decades earlier. By 1636 the Puritans had established Harvard College and even trained clergy for Plymouth, which established no college of its own.

The Pilgrims had hoped that in the New World they would improve their lot in life, and though great material advantage was never their transcendent objective, certainly this they accomplished. They came, as a friend of theirs at court had told King James I, to live by fishing. When fishing proved unfamiliar and unproductive, they turned to the soil. However, good soil within the area of their patent, particularly on the Cape and in coastal regions, was far from plentiful.

Thus, the Pilgrims were joined by comparatively few newcomers to New England because of poor soil. Also unattractive to newcomers was the colony's being mostly far off the main pathway of the traffic that developed between Boston and New York.

The colony's population near the close of the seventeenth century had attained a level of only 13,000 inhabitants. These included some Indians within their territory, and some blacks. Records, though meager, report the colony's first black male in 1643 — on a militia availability list — and the first black woman in 1653. No names appeared.

Generally, the Pilgrims were, for their era, tolerant. They never hanged or burned religious dissenters. They had two witchcraft trials, one ending in a not-guilty verdict, the other in the accuser's being fined for slander. Overall, they were an impressively law-abiding people. They did not even set up a jailhouse during the colony's first two decades.

Some criticized the Plymouth colony's last governor, Thomas Hinckley, for not trying harder to secure a charter. Hinckley, though, had served the colony long and faithfully. He had fought in the crucial battle of the Great Swamp. Starting as a deputy from his Cape Cod town of Barnstable, he had gone on to serve as an assistant to the governor beginning in 1658, and in 1680, when he was 62, had become the colony's sixth governor. He held the post, save for the autocratic years of Sir Edmund Andros, until the office itself was terminated.

Hinckley, beset by many difficulties in his final years in office, left the impression that he had come to believe that the future of his fellow citizens would be brighter and Pilgrim ideals better preserved by union with the more stable and prosperous Bay — that this union would truly, in the words of Rev. Robinson, "promote the common good."

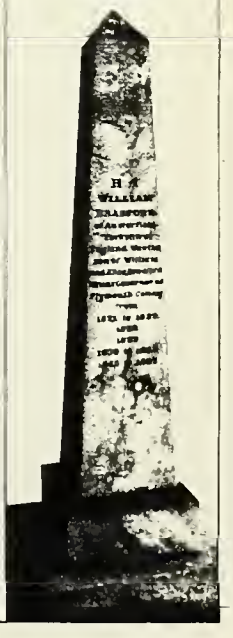
Just as there was a Bradford playing a major role at the old colony's beginning, another played a major part in the transition.

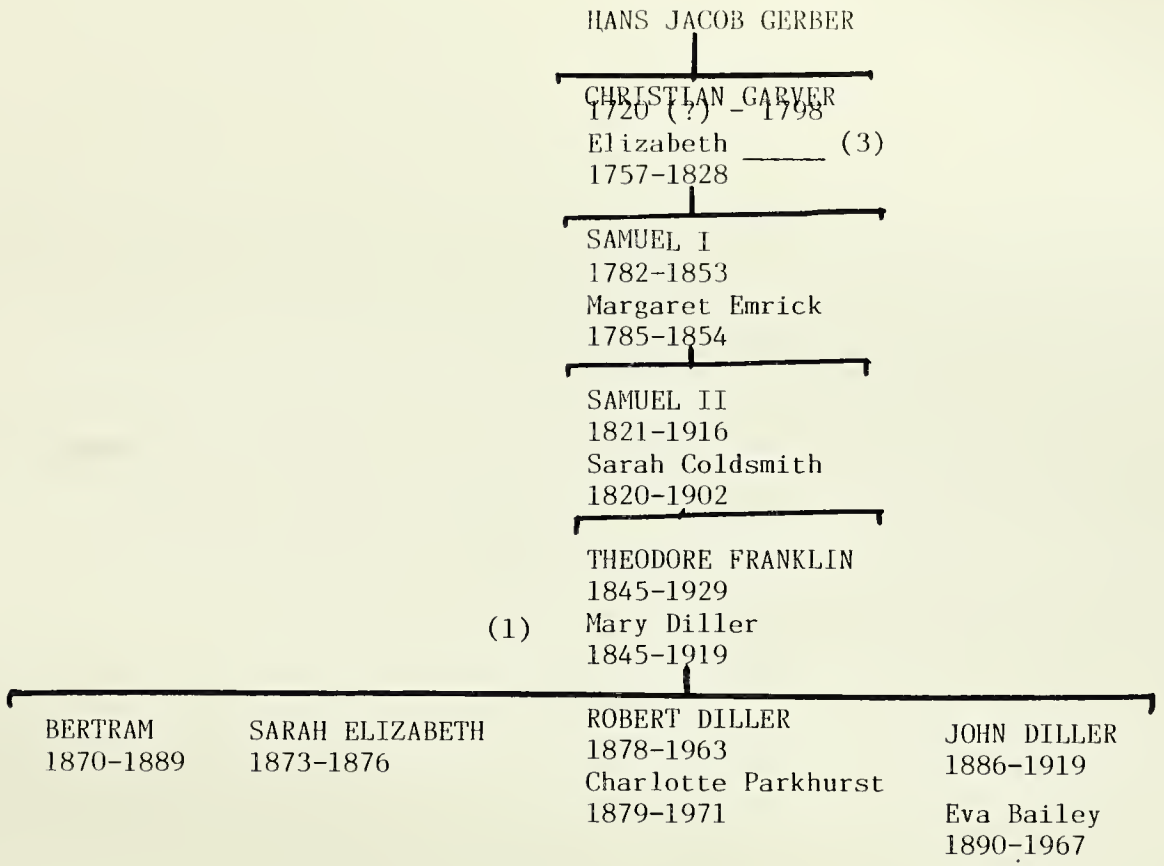
Maj. William Bradford Jr., son and namesake of the Pilgrim Father, presided at the last Court of Assistants that met in Plymouth, on April 5, 1692. This Bradford, deputy governor from 1682 to the end, had served the colony in many important posts. He commanded one of its two companies of militia in King Philip's War, and suffered serious wounds in the Great Swamp battle.

Before Plymouth would hold its next election — scheduled June 9, 1692 — Gov. Phips arrived from England, and the new colonial government, now including the Bay's 58 towns, was established in Boston. There the legislature met, and sitting in the upper legislative branch were both Plymouth's former governor, Hinckley, and its former deputy governor, William Bradford Jr. All opportunities available to Bay colony members were now equally open to citizens of New England's oldest colony.

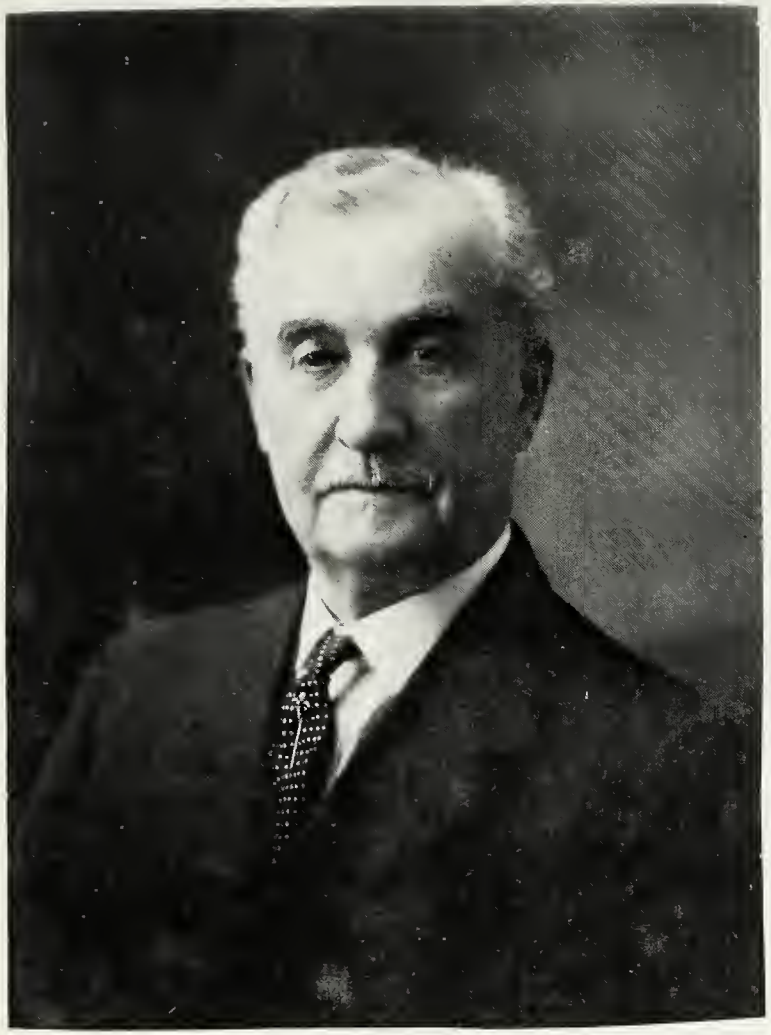
Like other Pilgrim descendants, the Bradfords over the years would fill many important public roles in the Bay colony, even that of chief executive of the future commonwealth — a position to which Robert F. Bradford, direct descendant of Gov. William Bradford, the builder of the Plymouth colony of the 1600s, was elected by his fellow Bay Staters in mid-twentieth century.

MARKER ON BRADFORD'S GRAVE ATOP BURIAL HILL OVERLOOKING PLYMOUTH HARBOR.





(2) Elizabeth Sheeleigh
1860-1928



THEODORE FRANKLIN GARVER
1845 -- 1929 Circa-1920

MARY DILLER GARVER
1845 - 1919 Circa: 1865

THEODORE FRANKLIN GARVER

Birth: November 4, 1845, Scotland, Franklin County, Pennsylvania

Parents: Son of Samuel II and Sarah (Coldsmith) Garver

Marriage: (1) A. Mary Diller, daughter of John and Elizabeth (Seltzer) Diller, Lebanon, Pennsylvania, on February 10, 1870

(2) Elizabeth Sheeleigh (niece of Mary Diller Garver) on December 20, 1923, at Fredericksburg, Maryland

Children:
1. Bertram, born November 11, 1870
2. Sarah Elizabeth Garver (Bessie), born April 21, 1873
3. Robert Diller Garver, born January 15, 1878
4. John Diller Garver, born November 7, 1886

Death: January 13, 1929, Kansas City, Missouri

Burial: Gypsum Hill Cemetery, Salina, Kansas

Theodore Franklin Garver (called Franklin or Frank) was born on November 4, 1845, in Scotland, Franklin County, Pennsylvania, the second child of Samuel and Sarah Coldsmith Garver. He spent his boyhood amidst quiet country scenes and in the toilsome school of farm life.(1) Judging from the closeness of the family in adult life, it was a happy family of six youngsters who worked and played together on the family farm of "Corker Hill", exploring underground stalactite caves, fishing in the nearby creek, and running through orchards with over 300 apple trees(2) and golden wheat fields. When one misbehaved, a stern but loving father took them to the barn "which was the scene of former trials and tribulations."(3)

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1. Eminent Men of Kansas, 1905, p. 87
2. Historical Sketch of Franklin County, p. 434
3. Photo Album by Austin Garver

This generation of Garver children grew up in an affluent atmosphere for those days on a large prosperous farm, in a beautiful brick house. There was always domestic help living in the house, as shown in the census schedules. The farm buildings were large and roomy to accommodate the livestock and carriages. Although their lifestyle was conservative and agricultural, they had the security of knowing that their grandfather, the original owner of the farm, was a prominent man[1] and their father a leading citizen of Franklin County.[2] Religious devotion and higher education were an integral part of their lives.

The prayer books and hymnals were stored in a cupboard by the fireplace in the south parlor and one can be sure that daily prayers were a part of their routine. On Sunday mornings, no matter how inclement the weather might have been, all the children were dressed in their finest and were driven in the family buggy to St. John Lutheran Church in Greenvillage, several miles away. It was in this little church that their father had been confirmed on November 19, 1836, at the age of 15. Perhaps some sunny days after church, they fidgeted impatiently in the buggy as their parents paid a visit to the little cemetery in the back of the church, where their grandparents were buried.

Periodically they were driven to Chambersburg to put in supplies and buy a new Sunday suit and button shoes. In 1880, at the Star Clothing House in the Public Square opposite the National Bank, Samuel could outfit his sons with suits for $3.00 and fine white shirts for 75¢.[3]

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1. History of Franklin County
2. Peoples Register, March 30, 1916, Chambersburg, Penn.
3. Valley Spirit, April 7, 1880

Franklin attended the small country school in Scotland until he was 15 years old, then in 1860 was sent to the Missionary Institute in Selinsgrove, Penn., for a three year college preparatory course. Although there is no record to the effect, it is probable that his older brother Charles went there too as the two boys entered college the same year.(1) In 1863 his cousin, Mary Ann Garver, daughter of Jacob, who was a successful farmer and owner of cement store and saw mills in Scotland, attended the Susquehanna Female College in Selinsgrove.(2)

Pennsylvania Militia of 1862

While still a student of the Missionary Institute and a lad of fifteen, the storm of civil war broke over the country.(3) After the defeat of the Union Army at the second battle of Bull Run, August 29 and 30, 1862, the Rebel Army hastened northward and crossed the Potomac, threatening the southern border of Pennsylvania. On the 4th of September Governor Curtin issued a proclamation calling on the people to arm and prepare for defense.(4) Too young for a soldier but eager to get into the fight, Franklin was among those answering Governor Curtin's first call to protect his homeland.(5)

There is no record of his particular company, but there were seven companies organized in Franklin County, four of which were raised in Chambersburg and one in Greenvillage. The latter was organized September 12 and discharged October 1, 1862, so Franklin's term of service was not long lived.(4)

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1. History of Franklin County
2. Student Repository, Susquehanna Female College, Vol. I., 1883
3. Eminent Men of Kansas, p. 87
4. History of Franklin County, p. 354
5. Penn. College - War Record of Pennsylvania College Men, p. 111

Pennsylvania College Before the Battle of Gettysburg

With his preparatory education behind him, the next milestone in Franklin's life was college. There probably wasn't much family dialogue as to which school he and his brother Charles would attend. His father's alma mater was Pennsylvania College (later called Gettysburg College), Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, only a few miles away from home. It was a Lutheran school where the Garver sons would be in good hands and further their religious as well as book training.

A Catalogue of Pennsylvania College describes the rigid terms of admission, the degree of difficulty and advancement in the studies and the various organizations:

Terms of Admission

"Candidates for admission to the Freshman Class must sustain an examination on Caesar, Virgil, the Greek Reader, Adam's Latin Grammar, Sophocles' Greek Grammar, English Grammar, Ancient and Modern Geography, Arithmetic and Loomis' Elementary Algebra.....Satisfactory testimonials of good moral character are required.....An accurate and thorough acquaintance with the studies required for admission is indispensable...."

Course of Instruction

"The whole course of instruction occupies four years. The classes attend three recitations or lectures a day, except on Wednesday and Saturday, when they usually have but two.

"FRESHMAN CLASS -- Cicero's Orations, Livy, Odes of Horace, Latin Prose Composition (Arnold's), Classical Antiquities, Xenophon's Anabasis, Cyropaedia, Life of Agesilaus, Greek Grammar (Sophocles), Greek Prose Composition (Arnold's), Ancient Geography (Schmidt's), German Grammar (Eichhorn's), and Heydrenreich's Reader, Algebra (Loomis'), Geometry (Loomis'), Universal History (Weber's), Rhetoric (Coppee's), English Literature (Cleveland's), Composition and Declamation throughout the year."

1865 Catalogue of Pennsylvania College (Continued)

Instruction and Supervision

"The instruction in the College is given entirely by the Professors, who have been engaged for some years in their respective departments. The discipline of the Institution is, as nearly as possible, parental. The President, under whose immediate supervision the building is placed, with the other officers, exercises a constant guardianship over the whole establishment, so that parents at a distance have all the security they may desire for the proper government of their children."

Department of Physical Science

"During the past scholastic year the efficiency of this department has been greatly increased by the addition of a complete collection of Philosophical Apparatus. These instruments have been specially constructed to bring before the students all the fundamentally important phenomena of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry, and thus cause Nature, as far as possible, to take the place of instructor, and give her own teachings in her own language.....A superior Telescope has recently come into possession of the College...made by Merz & Son, Opticians of Munich, in Germany...has been pronounced by the first astronomers in the country, to be a perfect instrument....the celebrated collection of minerals, owned by Mr. Seymour of New York, was purchased for the College.

The German Language

"A Professorship, having been established in the College by the Synod of Pennsylvania, designed to furnish the student with facilities for acquiring a knowledge of the German language and its literature....opportunities are afforded for acquiring a familiarity with the German as a spoken language.

Literary Societies

"There are two Literary Societies connected with the College, the Philomathaean and the Phrenakosmian, which exert a favorable influence on the improvement of the members. Their Halls occupy the two wings on the fourth

1865 Catalogue of Pennsylvania College (Continued)

story of the College edifice, and are furnished in a beautiful and tasteful manner. They hold their meetings every Wednesday afternoon." (Franklin was a member of the Philomathaean Society).

Examinations

"There is a public examination during each College term. A faithful record of the delinquencies of every student, of the degree of his attainment in scholarship, and of his conduct and attendance, is kept; a copy of which record is transmitted to parents or guardians at the close of each term.

Religious Exercises

"Devotional exercises are daily held in the College Chapel...The students are also required to attend public worship on the Sabbath, in the College Church...They are likewise required to attend a Biblical recitation on Sabbath afternoon, conducted by one of the officers of the Institution.

Expenses

"The necessary expenses of the College each term, exclusive of books, clothing, furniture and travelling expenses, are as follows:

Board, 13 weeks at $3.50 per week.....	$45.50
Tuition.....	12.00
Room rent, etc.....	3.00
Washing.....	4.00
Fuel and Light.....	3.00
	$67.50
Total for the Collegiate year.....	$202.50"

As an example of the enrollment, in 1865 when Franklin was a junior, the total attendance of 82 collegians was divided as follows: 9 seniors; 18 juniors; 18 sophomores; 25 freshmen plus 86 preparatorians. His class consisted of 5 young men from Gettysburg, 11 from Pennsylvania towns, and 2 from nearby Maryland (Emmittsburg and Lutherville). Fifty years later seven of the class reunited in Gettysburg. More will be written of that later.

While at Pennsylvania College, Franklin and Charles became members of Phi Kappa Psi,[1] as were their cousins, M. L. Garver (son of Jacob) and John Cormandy Garver (son of John) in Wittenberg College, Ohio, at the same time. In later years, Franklin's son Robert, and grandson, George, were also members of this national fraternity.

Like his father, Franklin was a member of the Philomathaean Society, one of two literary groups founded on February 4, 1831, by the students of the Gettysburg Gymnasium. Its purpose was "to create and cherish a taste for learning and to promote sentiments of mutual regard and friendship..."

One of the principal aims for each group was to establish a library (in addition to the College Library). In 1865 the College Library had 5,800 volumes while the Philomathaean Society possessed 4,500 volumes in their hall.

Franklin's 1864 account in the Philo Ledger was as follows:

Oct. 26	Initiation Fee	$5.00
Nov. 30	To Fine (299)	.15
Feb. 15	Session Tax (260)	.75
		$5.90

In 1863, in addition to describing the Philo Society participation in the War, which will be discussed later, other new business was recorded in the minutes, such as: having a janater's (sic) service for $5; an order to purchase a key for the Library door for 25¢; Mr. Young payed for a shirt stud lost during his term of office; fines for non-performance were increased from 15¢ to 25¢; motion to erect a statue for fellow member, Reuben A. Howerter, who was killed on Cemetery Hill during the Battle of Gettysburg.[2]

On May 23, 1866, at Philo Hall, Franklin was elected as a critic in the debates. The debate of that session was, "Have the States

1. Pennsylvania (Gettysburg) College Records
2. Philomathaean Society Records

lately in Rebellion forfeited their position as States in the Union?" Minutes of that day also reported the books of the various officers were "neat and clean".

The Civil War

When Franklin entered Pennsylvania College in 1863, the raging War between the States, setting brother against brother and cousin against cousin, must have been an ever present topic of conversation among the young men -- in their rooms, walking through the shady campus or on the streets of quiet friendly Gettysburg. How frightening and yet exciting it must have seemed to them, as they followed the successes and failures of the Army of the Potomac. There must have been many profound discussions about the morality of it all and the fervor to enlist and be a part of the confrontation must have been fanned by the more impulsive ones and made the adrenalin flow in their veins as they contemplated their future. Franklin, who had joined the Pennsylvania Militia of 1862, while attending the Missionary Institute in Selinsgrove, only to be mustered out after several months of waiting in Chambersburg, undoubtedly was one of those who was most enthusiastic and restless in his patriotism to help save Pennsylvania and the Union cause he believed in. Although one writer said when the time for action really arrived, "The quiet, peaceful, uneventful current of student life met with a rude shock. It was like awakening from a dream of fancied security to the full measure of threatening public danger."(1)

Little did they know as they lay on their cots that June day, reading Eichbarns Textbook on German Grammar(2) that in those very rooms many young men dressed in gray, their same age, would lie there

1. "Sketch of Co. A", Penn. College Book, 1832-82, by E. W. Meissenhelder
2. Catalogue of Penn. College, p. 18

bleeding, calling for their mothers, and dying on their same cots. As they sat on the broad steps of the College Building, looking over the tree lined walks, talking of the war or the young ladies of Gettysburg, little did they suspect that litters of moaning, wounded soldiers would be laboriously carried up those same steps -- just weeks from that time -- and that the peaceful little town of Gettysburg would be transformed into the bloodiest battle field of American history.

And then on June 16, 1863, it happened. Dr. E. W. Meissenhelder and the Rev. W. E. Parsons gave their versions of the history of Co. "A"--26th Regiment, Pennsylvania Militia -- the Schoolboy Regiment -- which follows:[1]

> "Disaster and defeat had once more overwhelmed the Army of the Potomac and from the bloody field of far-off Chancellorville, the Union forces had recoiled disheartened and dismayed. On the contrary the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia, under the command of General Lee, flushed with victory, surged through the mountain passes, and entering the Shenandoah Valley, overpowered Milroy at Winchester and on the 15th of June, 1863, pushed its advanced cavalry across the Potomac.
>
> "On that day (June 15) President Lincoln called upon the Governors of the loyal states for 50,000 volunteers to assist in repelling this threatened invasion. This was supplemented by General Order No. 43, issued by Gov. Curtin, calling upon the people of Pennsylvania to arm for the emergency." (Meissenhelder)

A telegram from Governor Curtin reached Gettysburg by noon of the ensuing day (June 16th) and the demands and dangers of the hour were warmly discussed by the students of Pennsylvania College, as, after their noonday meal, they congregated, as was their custom, in groups in front of Buehler's book store and Horners Drug Store. William Parsons, a senior, recalled that he was lounging with his

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1. Pennsylvania College Monthly, Vol. III, 1879
   Pennsylvania College Book, 1832-1882

old chum, J. A. Beeber, in front of the drug store and was joined by Luther Jacobs who "contributed his usual share of jollity" when they heard the announcement. Beeber suggested they all return to their homes to join their local companies.

> "Jacobs said: 'Why can't we get up a company among ourselves here?' One remark led to another and the group enlarged and became more excited. They went into the drug store and got a sheet of foolscap, put down a single sentence stating the object and signed their names. Before night they had the names of the majority of the students - except for those who were too small or those whose homes lay too far south to allow them to care very much whether the Northern army went South or vice versa. A sufficient number of town-people joined to make up the requisite one hundred." (1)

E. W. Meissenhelder, another student, recalls that his group were in front of Buehler's book store where a call for volunteers was posted; that student after student appended his name to that roll of honor until within the short space of a few hours, 56 students (of whom four were from the Seminary) had affixed their names. Although the two participants differ on the location of the first rallying of forces, Mr. Meissenhelder conceded that "it is not impossible that the same brave, patriotic purpose may have flashed through half a dozen minds at the same time. It was the magnetic unifying influence of a common impulse in the face of a common danger."

> "In a body the signers to the roll marched to the College and made known their determination. Dr. Baugher, then President, addressed the embyotic heroes, counseling discretion and advising an immediate return to their collegiate duties. Placed in a paternal capacity over them, he could not well do otherwise and it is a fair presumption that his own heart, wrung as it had been but a short twelve months before, by the death of a dear son at the battle of Shiloh, felt all the more keenly the grave responsibility

1. "History of Co. A." - Penn. College Monthly, Vol. III, 1879, p. 91

that would rest upon him, if, in this emergency, he should lightly consent to yield his better judgment to the demands of a lofty patriotism...Wise though his counsel may have been, yet no human agency could have stayed the ardor of the students." (Meissenhelder)

"The Company was then drawn up on front of Linnaean Hall. Officers were elected and the organization completed and transportation for Harrisburg was ordered for the ensuing day. The students dispersed, each to make his preparations for the eventful morrow. Each was treading upon the ragged edge of a near future, deeply shadowed by undertainty and doubt." (Meissenhelder)

"Wednesday morning, June 17th, came, but with it there was no abatement of the war fever. Posters such as this one from Kean Archives appeared throughout Pennsylvania:

A PUBLIC MEETING OF THE CITIZENS OF THE 24th WARD WILL BE HELD THIS EVENING, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1863, ON THE LOT ADJOINING THE ARMORY, 38th AND BRIDGE STREETS. PROMINENT SPEAKERS WILL BE IN ATTENDANCE. NOW IS THE TIME TO COME FORWARD AND JOIN IN THE EFFORTS TO DRIVE THE INVADERS FROM OUR SOIL. YOUNG MEN! LET NOT THE BLUSH OF SHAME, IN AFTER YEARS, TINGLE ON YOUR CHEEKS, WHEN YOU RECOUNT TO YOUR CHILDREN THE TRIALS AND PERILS OF 1863, AND ARE ASKED, 'WERE YOU READY TO DEFEND YOUR COUNTRY IN THE HOUR OF DANGER?' YOU MUST NOT ANSWER NO!!" (1)

"The Company gathered in the Diamond and were briefly but pertinently addressed by Prof. Mühlenberg, who endeavored to impress upon each and all the demands of an enlightened patriotism. He counseled to a faithful discharge of every duty that they might prove an honor to the State, to Pennsylvania College, and to themselves." (Meissenhelder)

"About six miles from Gettysburg, near Gulden's Station, occurred the first mishap; going at the rate of fifteen miles an hour, the railroad cars ran off the track, and the rough jolting of iron wheels over wooden sleepers shakes the patriotism out of a few faint hearts, and hastens their return to peaceful Gettysburg. But again, on the way, without further accident, the Company reaches Harrisburg, is promptly sent to Camp Curtin to find the whole camp in an uproar." (Meissenhelder)

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1. "Gettysburg" - from the Editors of Civil War Times

Parsons looked upon this incident as "amusing" telling how one or two of the town boys, who had joined without permission from their parents, were conscience-stricken and started home on a full run down the railroad track and were not seen again.

> "Thousands of men, gathered from all parts of the State, are unwilling to be mustered in under the conditions named -- to be sworn into the U.S. service and to serve for the "emergency", the former condition placing those so enlisted under the control of the U.S. Government for use wherever they might be needed -- the latter "emergency", being a term of doubtful interpretation. However, the College Company, as they became known, impelled by the one overmastering desire to serve their country, waived all conditions, and were at once sworn into the service of the United States." (Meissenhelder) (1)

> "The patriotic example so bravely and cheerfully set, exercised a powerful influence upon other organizations inducing them to pursue the same course. The prompt action of the College Company led to the concession of the post of honor to them as the first regiment organized under the 'emergency' call. It became Co. "A", 26th Regiment, Pennsylvania Militia."

Parsons says it must stand that they set the ball in motion that gave the State 25,000 troops in a time when every man counted a score. Hundreds were going back to their homes, and like sheep one running after the other way from the Capital and the scouts of Lee were not fifty miles away.

The National Archives contains the following information on Theodore F. Garver -- "Appears on Company Muster-in Roll - Harrisburg, Pa., June 19, 1863. Muster in Date - June 24, 1863. Joined for duty and enrolled June 24, 1863."

> "After being mustered into the service, the company was assigned quarters in some tents already pitched near the railroad. Government rations were also furnished them and rare was the culinary skill displayed by many of the students. Night came at last! and who of all that brave company will ever forget the first night in Camp Curtin? The wild pranks

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1. Parsons tells of the meeting where they talked the matter over and determined that there was no time to stand on fine points.

of 'boys let loose from school', the practical jokes, the college songs, the loud laughter, the genial uproar of hearty good fellowship, lasting long into the night. And some will perchance recall the coarse song and coarser jest of neighbors less refined. But 'silence came' at last' to heal the blows of sound.' By many the weary night was spent in the vain endeavor to find the soft side of a board, of all things in the world unlike a bed of down; others, worn out by the fatique of the day, wooed refreshing sleep, to be broken only by the rushing trains as they bore fresh defenders to the capital of the imperiled state. After midnight came the fierce crash of heaven's artillery, the vivid lightning and the descending torrent and Company "A" has its first brief lesson of war's discomforts, in aching limbs and well-soaked clothing."

Parsons remembers that first night:

"What rare fun we had lying in camp there! What endless jokes and songs, pulling each other out of the tents, and looking on the matter as a fine picnic!....After this long lapse of time I see no enemy, recall no invasion, have no sense of the fearful apprehension that must have lain heavily on those old enough to know what was going on."

"The morning of June 18th dawned bright and clear, and with the break of day, the College boys emerged from their tents, in vain essaying to make themselves comfortable and presentable after a miserable night. What futile efforts to make 'natty' toilets, perishing in their inception? On this day some additional members of Company "A" were mustered into service." (Meissenhelder)

It may have been at this time that Franklin's cousin, M. L., joined Franklin and Charles in Co. "A".

"The monotony of the next few days of camp life was relieved by the drawing of uniforms and the arming of the company. The drawing of uniforms was a sight never to be forgotten. Every man drew a prize -- as unlike what he would have as could be. How those suits did fit! How the useless effort was made to crowd a No. 13 foot into a No. 6 shoe; and how the biggest man in the company in vain essayed to get his huge proportions into the smallest suit! How the long, lank thin sutdent paraded before his armed comrades in the short, stumpy suit made for a man 5 feet 4 inches tall. But by dint of a lively system of exchange, the absurdities of dress were rectified." (Meissenhelder)

"Some inequalities were never more than relatively adjusted and through all the summer's campaign short boys trudged with coats large enough for their father." (Parsons)

The following exchange of correspondence regarding uniforms occurred between Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, and Major General Couch in Harrisburg.

War Department
June 26, 1863
7:50 p.m.

Major General Couch
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

If any effort be made to induce you to furnish uniforms to any troops excepting those who respond to the President's call for six months, and are sworn into the U.S. service, you will bear in mind that you are not authorized to furnish such supplies.

Troops of the U.S. can be furnished with U.S. uniforms.

Edwin M. Stanton
Secretary of War

June 26, 1863
Recd 10:25 p.m.

Hon. E. M. Stanton

I have supplied a few New York regiment with clothing and arms who had none. Pennsylvania troops sworn into service during the existing emergency have also been supplied -- none others. My forces have been driven out of Gettysburg and will rendevous in York tonight.

D. N. Couch (1)

"Each day now witnessed repeated drills in the manual of arms, and a patient striving after discipline. Rev. Chas. A. Hay of Harrisburg, visited the boys in camp, furnished each with

1. Kittochtinny History, Chambersburg, Penn.

a Testament and invited them to attend service in his church (First Lutheran Church) on the ensuring Sabbath, June 21st, which they did.

"On Tuesday evening, June 23, it was announced that a forward movement was intended on the next day. Rations and ammunitions were distributed in such a manner and such a quantity as to indicate beyond question that earnest, dangerous work was apprehended.

"The morning of June 24th found the boys ready for the march. The cars were taken at Harrisburg and the regiment sped on its way across the river, southward along the Susquehanna, toward Gettysburg, now well known to everyone to be its destination. At Hanover Junction, the train was divided into two sections, and pressed forward without incident until within six miles of Gettysburg, near Swift Run, when the forward section ran over an 'unromantic cow', the result being that the locomotive was thrown off the track." (Meissenhelder)

Herman Cook's version was "coming in contact with a plebian cow, which furnished tough steaks for many of the boys." (1)

"Fortunately for us the second train, containing Co. "A" and following close upon the forward train, was signalled in time to prevent disaster. This was one of those 'hair breadth escapes', though not invested with the dignity that belongs to the 'imminent deadly breach.! We encamped at this point (in the woods on the north side of the railroad) for two nights and a day, awaiting repairs on the road. We might have marched to Gettysburg in a few hours, but there was no haste; why should we walk when we could ride?" (Parsons)

"With the morning of Friday, June 26th, came fresh orders to advance and breaking up our camp in the woods, in the midst of a pouring rain, we took the cars for Gettysburg, reaching there about 9:00 a.m." (Meissenhelder) "We were the harbingers of battle, the first full regiment on that immortal field." (Parsons)

"Here the good citizens of Gettysburg provided us most bountifully with hot coffee, pies, sandwiches, etc. Language cannot do justice to the kind words and kinder deeds of its hospitable inhabitants." (Meissenhelder)

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1. The War Record of Pennsylvania College Men 1861-5
   Prof. E. S. Breidenbaugh

"We sailed into Gettysburg in open cars - halted -- received the admiring attention of professors, pretty girls, etc." (Herman Cook)

"As soon as the regiment reached Gettysburg, Col. Jennings, commanding the force, called upon Major Haller who was the ranking officer, for instructions. Not withstanding the remonstrance of Col. Jennings, who was well aware from reliable information previously furnished that the Rebels were steadily advancing, Major Haller ordered the 26th Regiment to move out the Chambersburg Pike to Marsh Creek, thus thrusting a body of raw and comparatively undisciplined troops into the very jaws of the advancing Confederates. The order was obeyed." (Parsons)

"Through Gettysburg, with steady, martial tread, moved this solitary regiment -- one man against a score of Rebel veterans. Out the pike for three miles, meeting refugees at every step, through a drizzling rain, it marched." (Meissenhelder)

"We moved out feeling secure enough. We thought that there were not a thousand men of the enemy's forces on the same side of the mountains with us, and we should have fine sport scattering roving bands and picking up scouts. After marching several miles in the rain, our guns exposed, our cartridges well soaked, our rations in a sorry mess, we heard with joy the order to halt and go into encampment." (Parsons)

"Then its course was deflected sharply to the north of the pike, across an open field for a few hundred yards into a thick woods, where it was ordered to stack arms and pitch its tents. Scarcely had the word passed along the line, when the boys of Co. "A" fell to work -- some pitching their shelter-tents, other scattering through the woods in search of dry leaves, brush and newly made shingles of which an abundance was to be found. As soon as the camp was formed a lieutenant with twenty men, Privates Henry and Hill, being taken from Co. "A" were sent forward beyond Marsh Creek to act as pickets and to give to the Regiment early warning of the approach of any hostile force." (Meissenhelder)

"The fires were lighted and the prospect very promising for an evening of rest. We stood looking into our tent, and were just about entering. Not a man had lain down yet; when suddenly the order reached our ears, 'Fall in, Co. "A"!' What did it

mean? Strange rumors were afloat in a moment. 'Don't stop to pull up stakes! Leave your tents! Fall in! Fall in!" (Parsons)

"What had happened was that Col. Jennings and Adjutant McKnight had started for Gettysburg to receive further orders, after sending out the scouts. They were soon overtaken by Major Bell of the Independent Scouts who exclaimed, 'Colonel, the Rebels (headed by General Early) are in force within three-fourths of a mile of your regiment and are coming rapidly.' There was no need to go to Gettysburg! The supreme necessity was to save the regiment from capture. With hot haste the Colonel and Adjutant retraced their steps and issued their frantic command to fall in." (Meissenhelder)

"There was something in the tone of command that brooked no delay and within a few moments the regiment was on its march to the north and east through woodland and forest. The regiment could not have been camped in the woods more than half an hour before the alarm was given." (Meissenhelder)

"We were off on foot in a few minutes. An advance guard to throw down fences, a rear guard to look after stores and stragglers, and we were off, abandoning the main road, through fields and woods, knee deep in mud, over swollen streams. When we learned of the advance of Lee's famous Army of Virginia, we did not feel disposed to join battle -- a thousand green militia agaist ten thousand bronzed and scarred veterans. We were brave, but not to rashness. We concluded that knowing the country, we could probably get away from the infantry. We even thought that, being comparatively fresh, we might outrun the cavalry. That in the end proved a vain hope." (Parsons)

"After a couple of hours marching, we halted on the brow of a hill in the main road, to rest and get water at a farmhouse, "There they are!" shouted someone. And sure enough, on looking back, we saw the cavalry coming up on the brow of a hill an eighth of a mile away. The regiment fell into rank at once and filed away to the right, forming behind a "stake and rider" fence. Some of the men commenced firing without orders from the commanding officers. Most of the guns, after an all day march in the rain, missed fire. The Colonel rode along the line giving orders, which seemed to be misunderstood, as part of the Regiment, under command of the Major, moved off towards a neighboring woods, while the body of the Regiment, under the command of the Colonel, started in an almost directly opposite direction.

"A number of men hesitated at the part of the rank where the division took place. They did not know the order, and consequently found themselves in a very few minutes as stragglers between the two portions of the Regiment. The cavalry dashed in upon these men with sword and carbine drawn, taking these stragglers prisoners.* And to the end of my days it will be one of the regrets of my life that I was not one of those stragglers. They suffered no harm, escaped the hardships of the march that followed, and saw the Battle of Gettysburg. They were paroled the next day; and though some were taken as far as Chambersburg and others lost their shoes and hats, they suffered no indignities, no harm. Some of these men joined our Regiment again after a few days and from them as eye-witnesses we learned the particulars of the terrific battle that followed so closely on the heels of our departure from Gettysburg." (Parsons)

Meissenhelder, in his account with reference to the time immediately following the capture of some of the regiment wrote:

"From an eye-witness, E. L. Rowe, esq. of Emmittsburg, it has been satisfactorily ascertained that the regiment fired too high, their bullets passing over the heads of the Rebels, but whistling in unpleasant proximity to those of our comrades who had been taken prisoners."

W. C. Storrick's report of this part of the battle[1] and the retreat to Harrisburg was:

"On June 23rd we left Harrisburg for Gettysburg, to be used, as riflemen among the hills at or near Cashtown. A railroad accident prevented this plan from being carried out and kept us from reaching Gettysburg until the 26th, by which time General Early had reached Cashtown...we were marched out on the Chambersburg Pike at 10:00 a.m. June 26th....accompanied by Major Robert Bell, who commanded a troop of horses, also raised in Gettysburg. Having halted, our colonel, accompanied by Major Bell, rode to the brow of an elevation and there saw General Early's troops a few miles distant. Our colonel, left to his own resources, wisely decided to make an effort to return to Harrisburg, and immediately struck off from the pike, the Confederates capturing many of our rear guard after a sharp skirmish and sending their cavalry in pursuit of us. These later overtook us at Witmer's house. We finally reached Harrisburg, having marched 54 out of 60 consecutive hours, with a loss of some 200 men."

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*Note: This undoubtedly describes Franklin's capture

1. The Battle of Gettysburg, by W. C. Storrick, Harrisburg, Pa., The McFarland Co. 1969

"The incidents of the night march, the skirmish at Bailey's Hill, the false alarms, the real and often near presence of the rebel cavalry rendered the march alarming and anxious. Harrisburg was reached Sunday, June 28th. The regiment performed guard duty at Fort Washington, opposite Harrisburg and along the river. Subsequently the regiment moved down the Cumberland Valley as far as Greencastle....The regiment was discharged July 30, 1873." (Wm. E. Parkson, Class of '67) (1)

Samuel Henry was one of the two captured by the Rebel Cavalry while on picket duty about noon on Friday, June 26th, on the Chambersburg pike, about one half mile east of Marsh Creek on the east brow of the hill. He wrote:

"We were marched back to town, kept for several hours under guard on the porch and steps of the College Church, then marched down York Street, down the York pike to a grove a short distance beyond the tollgate, in less than an hour marched back again to town and kept under guard as prisoners of war in the hall of the Court House -- were paroled about 7:00 a.m. on Saturday, June 27." (2)

While it is known that Franklin was not captured at this point, it is not known if his incarceration would have been at the same place.

In a biographical sketch, obviously written by Franklin, it is written, "A portion of the regiment, including Mr. Garver, was captured and held prisoners within the enemy's lines until shortly after the close of the battle, when they were able to escape and rejoin their command.(3) Knowing Franklin's penchant for the strict truth, it seems prudent to accept his version of "escape" rather than "parole" although he seems to be the only one with that description. Nevertheless, this obviously was the point of the skirmish where Franklin parted company from his reimental friends. Since he was a prolific writer, somewhere he undoubtedly recorded the incident, but it became lost.

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1. The War Record of Pennsylvania College Men 1861-5
   Prof. E. S. Breidenbaugh
2. War Record of Penn. College Men, 1861-1865, Spectrum, 1999, p. 110
3. Kansas and Kansans

Other classmates of Franklin's endowed with a sense of humor recall their Civil War experience with tongue-in-cheek solemnity:(1)

> Herman Cook: "on Thursday, July 30th, I was mustered out. The next day was paid off -- my services calling for $21.80. Thus began and ended my military career. My rank was the honorable one of private. Was never wounded, nor a prisoner, thanks for the latter to a sound constitution and good walking abilities."
>
> Rev. Matthew Boyer: "I entered the Company as 8th Corporal but was somehow or other degraded to the 4th. I arrived at the camp just in time to join in the great retreat to Harrisburg. I, with others, lost my baggage and rations...In this battle I was wounded in one of my fingers in my frantic effort to get my gun to discharge. I have not yet made application for a pension."
>
> Rev. Wm. H. Steck: "My war record is known to the wide, wide world, for who has not heard of the famous 26th Regiment and the Celebrated Co. "A" (the Apple Pie Regiment). Here I was a high private, front rank, especially when the Adams County coffee and York County pies were passing around...I was in line with the rest of the College boys when we were drawn up in battle line on Bailey's Hill, but fortunatley for the rebs on the hill in the distance, my powder was wet and gun did not go off...."

Despite all the frivolity and the ability of members of the famed Co. "A" to laugh at themselves and their inadequacies in retrospect, the College Boy Company served an important purpose in the Battle of Gettysburg. They were the first known Regiment to engage the Confederates at Gettysburg and delayed their advance one day.

And for this they will not be forgotten. Their memory has been preserved in bronze for future generations to remember and hopefully revere for their youth, enthusiasm, and patriotism.

At the three mile location on the right hand side of the Chambersburg Pike going west, where the Regiment camped momentarily before meeting the Rebels, is a monument which commemorates the 26th

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1. The War Record of Pennsylvania College Men, 1961-1865
Prof. E. S. Breidenbaugh

Regiment and the date of the first skirmish and first shot fired in the Battle of Gettysburg.(1)

In the heart of Gettysburg is a beautiful life size statue of a handsome young soldier carrying a gun and mounted on a huge boulder, in which ornamental bronze plates are implanted. On each side of the boulder are two granite markers upon which is printed on the bronze insets:

> "26th Pennsylvania Emergency Infantry Organized at Harrisburg and volunteered for the emergency -- Mustered into United States Service June 22, 1863 -- Mustered out July 30, 1863 -- Co. "A" recruited from Pennsylvania College and Gettysburg -- Total Enrollment 743 -- Captured and Missing in Gettysburg Campaign 175 Officers and men -- The first Union Regiment to engage the Confederates at Gettysburg and delaying their advance one day."

> "Reached Gettysburg June 25 in advance of the Army of the Potomac -- On the morning of June 26 marched out the Chambersburg Pike and met the Rebel column at Marsh Creek and forged by overwhelming numbers to withdraw in the afternoon on the Hunterstown Road -- Had a severe engagement with the Rebel Cavalry inflicting upon them some loss -- Reached Harrisburg June 28 having marched sixty consecutive hours and skirmished with the enemy -- June 30 advanced from Harrisburg after the Rebels in Retreat."

The Pennsylvania State Monument on Cemetery Ridge in the Gettysburg Battlefield is the most magnificent monument on the Battlefield, dedicated by the Keystone State to her hero sons who participated in the deadly conflict on her home soil. The names of all Pennsylvania soldiers who participated in the battles are contained on the bronze markers around the base of the monument.(2)

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1. The writer visited this site in 1973. The writing on the momument is:

2. Human Interest Stories at Gettysburg by Herbert L. Grimm and Paul L. Roy, 1969

The Co. "A", 26th Regiment's two placques are located on the far left side of the front of the monument. Listed are Theodore F. Garver, Charles F. Garver and Martin L. Garver. It states, "The 26th Emergency Infantry Regiment was mustered into service June 19, 1863, and discharged July 30th, 1863. On June 26th, on the Chambersburg Pike and Hunterstown Road, it resisted the advance of the Confederates, losing several men wounded and 176 captured." (See Appendix for other Garvers in the Civil War from Pennsylvania.)[1]

The minutes of the Philomathaean Society contained the following explanation on The Cause of the Interruption of the Meetings of Philo Society:

> "On Monday, the 15th of June, 1863, a telegram was received warning the citizens of the near approach of the rebel army. The excitement which prevailed was intense. On Tuesday morning the excitement had somewhat abated. At noon, however, a second telegram was received and a proclamation of Governor Curtin, calling upon all the able-bodied men of the State to arise for the defense of the Capital. The students of the college immediately formed a company under command of one of the graduated honorary members of Philo Society as Captain. All the members of Philo Society with one or two exceptions on account of age or physical disability enrolled themselves, whilst some twenty or thirty members of the Phrena Society refused to go, some having even put down their names and afterwards backed out!
>
> "On Wednesday morning, the 17th, the company left for Harrisburg. We were the first company mustered into the service in the second call of the Governor. After the lapse of a week, we were armed, equipped and sent back to this place under command of Col. Jennings of the 26th PVM. On Friday, the 26th of June, the advance of Gen. Early's division of Gen. Lee's Army came upon us. Having no cavalry, artillery or support, the regiment skillfully retreated for 3 days and 2 nights to Harrisburg under innumerable difficulties. In a skirmish with the enemy, some of our Philo members were taken prisoners. We were drawn up in line of battle three times.

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1. The writer has in her possession a photograph of the names on this monument, which would indicate that Franklin at one time returned and photographed the placque.

"On the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd of July, the ever memorable battle of Gettysburg was fought and the rebel hordes driven from Pennsylvania soil. The rooms of the students were plundered, our hall and reading room defaced. And the building used as a reb hospital. The institution suspended exercises from the 1st of July until the 24th of September. These therefore are the reasons why Philo Society was suspended for so long a time during the summer of 1863.....

Frank Richards
G. M. Beltzhower
J. C. Koller, Committee"

College after the War

In September, 1863, Franklin returned to his studies at Pennsylvania College. On November 19, 1863, President Abraham Lincoln came to Gettysburg for the Dedication of the National Cemetery and at that time delivered his monumental Gettysburg Address. Reports and photographs tell of the parade in the streets with the crowd, including students from Pennsylvania College, following the President as he walked to the site of the Battlefield. Undoubtedly Franklin Garver, the patriot, was there that day.

Little is known of Franklin's school days after the war except through the Achievement Reports, six of which were preserved. On each report, H. L. Baugher, President of the college, wrote general remarks. On several occasions Franklin slipped away from the building without permission plus "violating the Lord's Day" on June 17, 1866. As those reports arrived at his parents' home, three times during the school year, Samuel and Sarah must have been proud of the progress their son was making despite his several indiscretions of "being absent from his college building." Perhaps Samuel with a twinkle in his eye recalled times he too had eluded his professors when a student.

However, it must have been a dark day for them when in April, 1865, they received the anxiously awaited report and read the ominous

notation, "Sorry that Frank, whose conduct has been so good in general should have permitted himself to be implicated in the bullet rolling disorders." They must have turned to each other and simultaneously repeated, "Bullet rolling?" Did the scarred campus site of the Battlefield of Gettysburg give forth the ammunition -- cannon balls or mini balls -- for this disorder? Did the mischievous college boys connive to roll these down the halls of a darkened and sleeping dormitory, causing an unearthly clatter on the wooden floors? The Gettysburg College Archives do not disclose their secret, which by present day standards did not seem so shocking or immoral.

These reports do indicate that discipline did not change at Pennsylvania College after these young men came back from the battle fields and service. They were still held by close reins and the strictness and discipline was not relaxed.

Franklin's grades on the report cards in possession were as follows:

	12/22/64	4/12/65	8/9/66	4/11/66	12/20/66	4/10/67
Mathematics	95	90				
Latin	90	95	94	90	95	95
Greek	92	92	87	83	91	95
German	92					
History	90	94				
Rhetoric	80	77	84	80	90	
Polit. Economy					94	96
Natural Philosophy, Chemistry			90	100	93	
Astronomy-Geology					96	95
Mental Science			77	76		
Natural Religion					84	77
Biblical Recitation	100	100	75	100	100	100

On August 8th, 1867, Pennsylvania College held its Thirty-third Commencement. Invitations and tickets were issued requesting "the

pleasure of your company at 8 o'clock Thursday morning." The invitation was signed by the committee of P. Harvey Schaeffer, Robert J. Fisher, and S. P. Sadtler. The tickets announced the names of the 15 graduates and orators and that music would be played by the Germania Orchestra of Philadelphia.

It must have been a happy moment for Franklin and his brother Austin, a sophomore, as they stood in front of their dormitory and watched their father drive up in the buggy, bringing their sisters, Emma and Alice, and cousin Anna Mary Garver from Forreston, Illinois. No mention is made of their mother or younger brother John Anson.[1]

The Commencement Exercises started with music, followed by a prayer. The first oration was given by C. S. Albert who received First Honors. The second on the program was "T. F. Garver, Scotland" whose speech was entitled, "The English Bible and Shakespeare." P. H. Schaeffer of Philadelphia wrote and read a poem, "The Highland Home" which was later published in The Lutheran Observer and is in the files of this writer.

Degrees were conferred upon the graduates by President Baugher, the man who had served as father and confidante to the boys for their four years under his tutelage. The program was closed by a Benediction.

Afterwards perhaps they were treated to luncheon or dinner, as the noonday meal was called then, and then they visited the different buildings on the campus. Among those was the Philomathaean Society, of which Samuel had been a member in his collegiate days. Here they signed the Visitors Register -- as a permanent mark of their attendance on this propitious day in the life of Franklin. Franklin's many friends probably gathered around this little group, showing highest respect to his formidable father and eager to meet the three attractive young ladies, about whom he had spoken so often.

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1. Graduation Program

In Franklin's possessions were found several pictures taken of his college friends by the Tyson's Photographic Portrait Galleries, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. In one picture of his Phi Psi fraternity brothers, all wore their pins on the lapels of their long waistcoats and five of the natty gentlemen wore tall shiny stove pipe hats with wide hatbands, while one sported a Homberg. Several wore boots while the others wore high top laced shoes. At their necks were black shoestring ties and small collars. P. Harvey Schaeffer autographed his picture, "Yours in mystic bonds of Phi Kappa Psi." Their mature and sober countenances gave no impression of impetuous and carefree college boys.

In his graduation picture taken August 14, 1867, at H. Bishop's New Skylight Gallery, in Chambersburg, Franklin looked very handsome with his dark brown wavy hair, carefully groomed mustache and goatee, and dark piercing eyes.

After Graduation

The year after his graduation from Pennsylvania College in 1868, Franklin returned to the Missionary Institute in Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania, where he had received his preparatory education, to teach mathematics. During this time he decided upon his life career and later enrolled in the Albany Law School, receiving his Bachelor of Law Degree in June of 1869.[1]

Among the souvenirs of his law school days was an autograph book which he saved. In this his classmates signed their names along with their political and religious preferences -- a sign of the times of the strong convictions in these categories, not two subjects of conversation to be avoided, as in later years in polite circles. These young men, about to enter the legal profession felt they were going to shape the destiny of their young country, barely 100 years old.

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1. Kansas, Vol. 3, Part 1, 1912, p. 401

In June of 1869 ,Franklin was admitted to the bar in Franklin County and practiced law in Chambersburg from that time until 1871.(1)

On February 10, 1870, he married Anna Mary Diller of Lebanon, Pennsylvania. Very little is known of Mary's background except that she was born on November 4, 1845 - the same day as Franklin. Her family was a very religious family, proud of their heritage dating back to the 1600's according to their genealogy chart. (Appendix)

Later that year, their first child, Bertram was born.(2)

The fever to Go West was running rampant. Each Wednesday, when the Valley Spirit, the weekly newspaper of Chambersburg, was published, the young men in the community eagerly read the columns written by Pennsylvanians who had moved to Kansas.(3) Each week they were more intrigued with the advertisements run by the railroads concerning their group plans and rates. Soon Franklin fell prey to the excitement of this migration and in February, 1871, Franklin, Mary, and baby left their homeland of Pennsylvania and their families and moved to Topeka, Kansas.(4)

Kansas

While they were living in Topeka, Franklin's brother Charles and his cousin, Martin Luther Garver, son of Jacob Garver, and his new wife, visited them. M. L. had just married Miss Kate Emminger on April 11, 1871, in Mansfied, Ohio, and came to Topeka on their wedding trip. While there M. L., Franklin, and Charles made a trip by mule team and camped in Wichita, where they bought Buffalo Steak for 25¢ a basket.(5) It would appear that this trip was arranged so that M. L. and Charles could see the different locales in Kansas

1. Historical Sketch of Franklin Co., p. 201
2. Gypsum Hill Cemetery Tombstone
3. Valley Spirit, Feb. 25, 1880
4. Kansas, 1912, Vol. 3, Part 1, p. 401
5. History of Sedgwick Co., Vol. 2, 1911, p. 779

with the possibility of their moving there. Apparently, Franklin was not completely satisfied with the opportunities Topeka offered because in August the family moved to Lincoln County.(1)

Several months later,in February of 1872, they moved to the little frontier town of Salina, Kansas, which was settled in 1858. Franklin built a home for his family at 618 E. Iron Ave.(2)

This same year brother Charles and his wife Jane, both practicing doctors, also moved to Salina, where they stayed for four years.(3) The reason they left is not known but shortly after their return to Pennsylvania their child Phoebe was born and Charles contracted consumption.(4) which may have been contributing factors.

In 1873, another member of the family, sister Alice, came to visit. While there she met and fell in love with Franklin's law partner, Thomas L. Bond. They were married on December 22, 1874, in Scotland, Pennsylvania, and came back to Salina to spend the rest of their lives.(5)

On March 30, 1873, Mary and Franklin joined with Jacob and Julian Gebhart, Robert and Joahanna Diehl, C. W. and Minnie Tresin, B. B. and M. Stemmel, Elizabeth and Joseph Young and Iva Presson to found St. John's Lutheran Church. Their first church was a small crude wooden structure but the true pioneer spirit and religious zeal prevailed and it grew into a large and impressive church. Also listed in the church records were Benjamin and Anna Maria (Bell) Garver. Benjamin F., nine years older than Franklin, was the son of Benjamin Garver, grandson of Isaac Garver, who was a brother of

1. Kansas and Kansans, p. 401
2. Medical Men of Franklin County, 1750-1925
3. Letter from Florence Crosby, Salina, Kansas
4. Valley Spirit, Chambersburg, Pa., April 21, 1880
5. Salina Journal, February 17, 1931

Samuel Garver I, Franklin's grandfather. They were both great grandsons of the patriarch of this Garver clan, Christian Garver. Benjamin had grown up in Leitersburg, Md., and Waynesboro, Penn., so the cousins probably knew each other in their youth.(1)

The St. John's Lutheran Church records also show that twins, Carrie Elizabeth Martin and Emma Susan Trett, daughters of Benjamin and Anna Maria, were born on August 6, 1872, and baptized on August 16, 1874. Whether Benjamin preceded Franklin in Salina and perhaps was the person who interested him in settling there or vice versa is unknown. In 1882 Benjamin and his family moved on to Missouri.

On April 21, 1873, a daughter, Sarah Elizabeth Garver, was born to Franklin and Mary. On April 23, 1874, Bessie, as she was called, was baptized by the pastor of St. John's. The joy of this little girl child was short lived as Bessie died in 1876 and was the first to be buried in the Garver-Bond gravesite in Gypsum Hill Cemetery (Lot 102, Block B).(2)

On January 15, 1878, another son, Robert Diller, was born into this happy family, establishing themselves in this new land.

It is interesting to note the drastic scientific and cultural changes that were taking place in the country during this period that would affect the future life of the world.

1870	Remington mass producing typewriters
1872	Carbon paper patented
1876	Mark Twain wrote "Adventures of Tom Sawyer"
1877	George Eastman spent $94 for first photographic outfit. Photographer carried his developing equipment and chemicals with him in his wagon
1877	First telephone exchange installed in New Haven
1877	Edison patented phonograph
1879	Electric light was patented

1. History of Leitersburg, p. 228
2. Tombstone, Gympsum Hill Cemetery

Franklin and his partner, T. L. Bond, had a flourishing law practice at 111 N. Santa Fe Avenue. Franklin was assuming his civic duties, serving as City Attorney and a member of the Board of Education in the 4th Ward in 1882. Life was becoming more complicated -- the first income tax was levied -- 3% for all income over $800. The miraculous instrument called the telephone had made its debut in the east. Around 1881, a photograph of the extremely handsome Bertram and his little brother Robert was taken in Lebanon, Pennsylvania, when the family returned that year for a visit.

All this time, The Garver family was in close touch with each other by means of the "Budget Letter" -- a family letter circulated to all member, with each person in turn adding their own letter and sending it on. Brother Austin was now a minister at the Unitarian Church of Worcester, Mass., and traveling extensively in Europe. His letters of those trips were presented and donated to the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester. They naturally made frequent mention of Frank and the Kansas group. On September 12, 1884, he wrote of Franklin being sick and hoping that care and rest would bring about a cure. In June of 1887 he wrote of Samuel's visit to Salina and of his trip with Franklin to scale Pike's Peak in Colorado.

In 1886 Franklin visited the family home in Scotland. All the family was there but Alice. Austin, an avid photographic enthusiast, took marvelous pictures of their old home and the grounds and mounted them in an album for Franklin, which is in the possession of the writer.

Surely Franklin treasured that album and years later still enjoyed looking at the family group seated on the front porch -- his parents, sister Emma with her husband and 3 sons, John Anson and Jane, widow of brother Charles, and their daughter Phoebe. A

detailed description of this album is included in the biography of Samuel I.

On November 7, 1886, another son was born to Mary and Franklin -- John Diller Garver -- and in 1887 Franklin built the family a new home at 529 South Santa Fe Avenue.(1)

In the fall of 1889, son Bertram left for Washborn College in Topeka for his first year of college, filled with the high hopes of a typical nineteen year old. One weekend Bert, as he was called, returned home to participate in one of his favorite pasttimes, hunting. On Saturday morning he and Henry Lowe took their guns and went to the White farm to go hunting with Tom White. While they were sitting in the kitchen and Tom was cleaning his gun, he accidentally shot and killed Bert, this handsome young man whose life was just beginning.(1)

This terrible tragedy was never to be forgotten by the Franklin Garver family. Robert, Bert's junior by eight years, refused ever to talk of his brother's life or death.(2)

In 1892 Franklin's standing at the bar and his character as a lawyer was recognized by the judges and lawyers of the state, and he was elected President of the State Bar Association.(3)

As time progressed Franklin (now called Frank by his associates and friends) became involved in politics. In 1892 he was nominated by the Republicans for the position of Attorney General of the State of Kansas. He was universally conceded to be the strong candidate, but was defeated along with the balance of the ticket.(4) The Topeka Daily Capital, October 26, 1892, praised him highly in their endorsement of him.

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1. Florence Crosby Note: By 1969 this home has been torn down.
2. George Garver, son of Robert
3. Topeka Daily Capital, October 26, 1892
4. Eminent Men of Kansas, p. 88

On June 6, 1894, the Republican State Convention was held in Topeka, Kansas. In their business of selecting a nominee for governor, Frank eloquently made the first nominating speech for Major E. N. Morrill. Mr. Morrill won the nomination by a vote of 771 to 122 and subsequently became governor.(1) In 1895 on the creation of the Court of Appeals, Frank was appointed by Governor Morrill to be one of the Judges of the Northern Division, "in which position he served with credit to himself and the State until January, 1897."(2)

In 1896 Judge Garver's friends insisted that he should accept the Republican nomination for Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, but that year the Free Silver wave and Populist movement swept over Kansas and the Republican ticket was again defeated.(3)

A strange predicament that might have strained business and family ties was the fact that Frank's partner and brother-in-law was both a Democrat and a Populist.(4) However, they remained close friends throughout his lifetime.

To understand better why Franklin, a conservative Republican, would not espouse the words of Populism and was defeated in his bid for election against them, one must understand the Populist Party of the 1890's.

"In 1892, within two years of the movement's beginning, the national platform of the People's Party warned: 'A vast conspiracy against mankind has been organized on two continents, and it is rapidly taking possession of the world. If not met and overthrown at once, it forebodes...the destruction of civilization.'

"Richard Hofstadter wrote of the 1892 'Pops': 'The fear and suspicion of the stranger that haunted the nativist American mind was exhibited by the Populist in a particularly virulent form. Everyone remote and alien was distrusted and hated -- even Americans, if they happened to be city people.' And especially if they were city people who happened to be Jews or Catholics.'

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1. Topeka Capital, June 7, 1890
2. Eminent Men of Kansas, p. 88
3. Ibid., p. 89
4. Illustriana, Kansas, 1933

"Nineteenth-century Populism began as the last stand of segments of American agriculture against the East, the cities, and a new industrial aristocracy. It ended as something like the last stand against 'bankers...foreigners...Jews.'

"The old Populism reached people who felt threatened by accelerating social and economic change....Part of the trick of being a Populist is finding a scapegoat -- 'the bankers...the foreigners' in 1892.

"The People's Party itself built on that desperate base by appealing to nonagricultural workers with programs for governmental and labor reform...which included the graduated income tax, the 8 hour day, and government regulation of banking and business.

"The old Populism lasted only five years before Bryan and the Democratic Party co-opted the rhetoric and programs of the Peoples Party." (1)

After being a resident of Salina, Kansas for twenty-five years, building a flourishing, law practice, serving the community, and helping to establish this little town, Franklin moved his family to Topeka in 1897. Robert had finished a year of college and John was a young lad 13 years old. The forces that motivated this move for a 52 year old man who had been such an important and integral part of Salina life are not known. Perhaps he was disheartened by his political losses and felt the need for new horizons.

Whatever the reason, the move turned out to be a good one. Frank formed a partnership with J. B. Larimer, which ranked as one of the strongest and most successful firms in the City.(2)

Their home was located at 715 Harrison Street.

Robert entered Washburn College, which he attended for a year before enrolling in the University of Kansas and later in Albany Law School. John attended Topeka High School.(3) John eventually

1. Chicago Tribune, with excerpts from The Saturday Review, 4/8/1972
2. Eminent Men of Kansas, pp.88-89
3. Topeka State Journal, February 11, 1919

graduated from the University of Kansas as a mechanical engineer. After Robert graduated from Law School in 1902, he joined his father in the firm of Garver & Garver.

As in Salina, Franklin's driving sense of civic responsibility did not lag in Topeka. He was a member of the Board of Education for eight years and was president of that body for two years.(1) He was an elder in the First Presbyterian Church. He was president of the Topeka Provident Association and of the Society for the Friendless, an organization devoted to aiding ex-prisoners so they might again become self-respecting citizens.

Like his brother, John Anson, Franklin was an advocate of Prohibition.

He was prominent in Masonry, being a Royal Arch and Scottish Rite member, as well as a member of the Topeka Commercial and Fortnightly Clubs. He also taught a Municipal Corporation Law Class at Washburn Law School.(2)

On September 30, 1905, Mary wrote and read a very astute article, "Lilith -- a Prototype" before the Western Sorosis Chapter at Topeka. This article was later published in their magazine, The Club Member, under the heading, "The Woman Who Votes." The abstract theme seemed to be women's equality with men with deep religious overtones and background on relationship of Adam and Eve, etc. This piece of writing would tend to indicate the interests, high intellect and education that Mary possessed.(3)

On November 16, 1904, Robert married Charlotte Parkhurst, the only daughter of Mr. and Mrs. George W. Parkhurst, socially prominent citizens of Topeka. The occasion was marked with many gala parties, including a reception at the home of the Garvers.

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1. Kansas, Vol. 3, Part 1, 1912, p. 402
2. Kansas & Kansans, 1928, p. 1806
3. The Club Member, Topeka, Kansas, Nov. 1905

FRANKLIN CARTER
Colgate, Kansas

On October 23, 1911. John was married to Eva Bessie Bailey, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. James H. French at the French home. Mrs. George Parkhurst sang while George Garver, John's nephew, carried the ribbons to mark the bridal path. After the wedding John and his bride made their home in Topeka for a time before he became a Professor of Mechanical Engineering at the University of Kansas in Lawrence, Kansas.

In 1917, Franklin returned to Gettysburg for the 50th Reunion of his Pennsylvania College Classmates. Out of a graduating class of 15, seven attended the reunion: S. P. Sadtler; M. W. Jacobs (an attorney, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania); C. J. Cooper; J. H. Brown, lawyer; J. J. Weaver, in banking and insurance in Washington, D. C.; and Robert J. Fisher, attorney and general counsel of Eastern Railways. While there they went to a photographic studio and had a portrait made of the seven distinguished and prosperous looking gentlemen. At that time they also visited the Pennsylvania Monument on the Battlefield and took pictures. Franklin had the one showing the names of Co. "A" enlarged.[1] How proud they must have been and undoubtedly there were many laughs and good times reminiscing about their college days and the foibles and frustrations of Co. "A". Four wore their fraternity pins in their lapels.

Ten years later in June, 1927, the group met again in Gettysburg but Frank unfortunately did not attend and only Jacobs, Brown, Weaver, and Fisher were there. M. W. Jacobs, in his letter to "Dear Garver" written July 12, 1927, reporting on the event, wrote that "We spent several days quietly renewing old memories. Your absence was greatly regretted by all." He continued with a report of their physical

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1. The Reunion Picture, Photograph of names of Co. "A", and M. W. Jacobs letter are in the possession of the writer and in the Garver archives.

frailties and yet all appeared to be alert and were active in business or travel. He told of their plans to return again in 1932. Sadly, Frank did not live to attend the 65th Reunion and one wonders how many attended that last reunion of the College Boys of '67.

In the summer of 1918, the family, including Robert, his wife Charlotte, and their two children, John and Eva, Frank and Mary, vacationed in Ludington, Michigan, at Recreation Cottage, owned by the Parkhursts. The cottage was situated on the white sandy shores of Lake Michigan, where the visitors enjoyed the beachk boating, and fishing by day. In the evening, seated in wicker rockers, they looked out on the magnificent Michigan sunset from the long screened veranda at the close of a busy day. Pictures were taken of the group seated on the running board of their touring car, with its spoke wheels and its spare tire resting on the running board. In the picture the ladies were primly attired with hats and long dresses, trimmed with lace and embroidery, wearing cameo pins and lockets.

The men appeared to be most proper and formal with their stiff collared shirts and ties, while Franklin wore a straw hate. Perhaps they had all just returned from attending church services at nearby Epworth Heights, a Methodist summer resort, frequented by many families from Kansas, Arkansas and Missouri.

About this time, World War I was beginning to touch the lives of the Garvers. The Topeka paper printed the headline, "Garver Is Making Good" along with a picture of mustachioed John with his pince nez glasses, handsome in the full dress uniform of a Lt. in the Navy. The paper wrote, "Lt. John D. Garver, a son of Judge and Mrs. T. F. Garver and a brother of Judge Robert Garver of the first division of the Shawnee County District Court, is another Topeka boy who is making good in the naval service." He was placed at the head of an

important section of the U. S. Naval Steam Engineering School at Hoboken, N. J. How proud Franklin must have been that day as he carried that paper home to Mary!

But this happy life was soon to end for Franklin. On January 7, 1919, Mary died. She was buried in Gypsum Hill Cemetery in Salina alongside the two beloved children she had borne and lost. On the evening of February 10, 1919, one month later, Frank received the shocking news that John was seriously ill in a New York City hospital of pneumonia, following an attack of the lethal war time influenza.

Stunned, alone and frightened, he left immediately for New York, arriving there the following morning but too late to see his son alive. What a tragic journey home that must have been as he left his 32 year old son for the last time. His grandson, George, who was thirteen at the time remembers John's body lying in the parlor of his grandfather's home and the cross sword arcade formed by naval men who had accompanied his body to Topeka, as his coffin was carried from the home.

Aware of his great grief and loneliness, Robert and his family, who had lived in the Parkhurst home, moved into the home on Harrison Street to provide care and companionship for Franklin. The selfless and sweet Lottie, his daughter-in-law, must have helped immeasurably in the six months they were there. But this familial arrangement was not to last for Franklin either. In September of 1919 Robert decided to leave the bench and accepted a position in the legal department of the Henry Doherty Gas and Oil interests. He was in charge of legal interests of the company in Texas and moved to Ft. Worth.[1]

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1. Topeka newspaper

After Robert and his family moved to Texas, Franklin dismantled his home, with "Rob" and "Lottie" taking the silver, china, pictures, bric-a-brac, and other household effects.(1) It was also at this time that Franklin donated three items to the Kansas Historical Society Museum in Topeka. These are in Collection No. 19.67 and are: "1. a Tower-Enfield pattern percussion military musket probably model 1863, caliber .577, made on contract by Parker Field & Sons, London; 2. the bayonet for the musket; and 3. U. S. Model 1860 Light Cavalry Saber."(2) These were his souvenirs from his days in Co. "A", which had hung over the fireplace in his library for many years.(3)

According to one of his biographies he spent two years as an attorney for the Empire Gas & Fuel Co. in Ft. Worth (originally Henry Doherty Oil and Gas Co., for whom Robert worked).(4) It is not exactly clear if Franklin moved to Ft. Worth on a permanent basis during that period or how long he stayed. In May, 1922, Robert and his family were transferred to Bartlesville, Oklahoma. According to Elizabeth Sheeleigh's letter of November 10, 1923, Rob was visiting Frank in Ft. Worth at that time and she hoped Frank would spend the following Sunday with the family in Bartlesville. In the same letter she wrote, "Like you, I have been worried about Uncle Frank living alone in Topeka, ever since you left Ft. Worth, especially when he was sick last spring. I do not know what he would have done without your mother (Mrs. George Parkhurst) at that time for she has been such a good kind friend to him."

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1. Elizabeth Sheeleigh letter, November 10, 1923
2. Letter from Kansas State Historical Society, April 19, 1971
3. George Garver, grandson
4. Kansas and Kansans, p. 1805

Elizabeth

With his wife Mary and three of his children dead and his remaining son in Oklahoma, Franklin, who had always seemed so independent and self sufficient, was a very lonely man and his health was not good. Feeling a need for companionship he turned to Mary's niece, Elizabeth Sheeleigh, fifteen years his junior, who was living in Maryland with her sister, and asked her to be his wife.

While Franklin and Mary were living in Salina and Topeka, her nieces, Elizabeth and Grace Sheeleigh from Frederick, Maryland, had visited them frequently. In Salina, when Rev. George D. Gotwald was pastor of St. John's Lutheran Church in Salina, Elizabeth was active in the church work and a popular member of the young set.(1) In her letter she wrote that ever since "Rob was a little boy, he has been a favorite cousin of mine."(2)

In a beautiful letter written to "Lottie", (Rob's wife), Elizabeth tells of her mixed emotions about accepting his offer. She wrote, "We have known each other for so long and so well and have so many interests in common that I feel sure we'd be very happy together." She referred to him as "Uncle Frank" and said she would probably be calling him that after the marriage. Her letter showed her to be a loving, kind, understanding, and unselfish person. She was grateful that "Rob and Lottie approved of the impending marriage."

She continued: "I do not believe he (Rob) realizes how his father worships him and how proud he is of his attainments or how much he leans upon him of late years. Therefore, I would not for the world be the means of causing any strained relations"....I am afraid I will have an embarrassment of riches in my Christmas presents of humans. A husband, three children (including Eva and Lottie) and two grandchildren are most too much for me all at once."

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1. Article by Florence Bond Crosby, February 21, 1933
2. Letter from Elizabeth Sheeleigh, November 10. 1923

This letter told much about the lovely person of Elizabeth Sheeleigh and it appeared that Franklin had once again taken an important and right step in his life.

They were married December 20, 1923, at Frederick, Md., by Elizabeth's brother-in-law, the Rev. Ulysses S. G. Rupp, Lutheran Pastor,(1) and came back to a small apartment Franklin had rented at 629 Topeka Blvd. in Topeka. Elizabeth brought barrels of china and silver, which she had inherited from her Aunt Eliza and Aunt Tillie. After their marriage she kept occupied and made a place of prominence for herself in the First Presbyterian Church and Women's Club and was active in the Bible Class and D.A.R. Her interests also included genealogical research of the Diller family.(2)

Franklin was then 78 and in the evening of life when life's problems and mishaps seem to pursue and harass those who are able to withstand the ravages of age. On April 9, 1924, he was struck down by a motor car driven by J. C. Frazer. He received severe cuts on his face and head but was not injured internally, although hospitalized in Stormant Hospital. His health became progressively worse after the incident and by 1928 he was in exceedingly poor health.

On December 26, 1928, after a noon day dinner, Elizabeth went to her room to take a nap. Her maid went to her room some time afterwards to report she was leaving the house, but seeing her apparently asleep on the bed, did not awaken her. Franklin found her three hours later and phoned a physician, thinking his wife was ill, but she had been dead several hours, apparently having suffered a heart attack.(2) The funeral service was conducted at their residence at 629 Topeka Avenue by Dr. Estey on December 29, and burial was in Gypsum Hill Cemetery, Salina.(3)

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1. Marriage Certificate
2. Topeka paper, December 27, 1928
3. Memorial Record

After her death, Franklin left Topeka on January 2 to make his home with his son Robert, but ill health and the shock of Elizabeth's death caused his removal to St. Luke's Hospital in Kansas City where he died on Sunday afternoon, January 13, 1929, of pneumonia at the age of 83 years.[1] Less than three weeks after Elizabeth's death, funeral services were held for Franklin on Tuesday morning, January 15, 1924, at 10:30 at the First Presbyterian Church in Topeka and his body was taken to Salina for burial. Among the floral pieces were last goodbyes from his family: Mr. and Mrs. John A. Garver, New York, his brother and wife; Miss Phoebe Garver, his niece; and Mr. and Mrs. T. L. Bond, sister Alice and his former law partner for 25 years.

In his will, written on September 11, 1925, he set up a trust for Elizabeth with Robert D. Garver as trustee. He bequeathed $2,000 to his sister, Alice Bond, $500 to his niece, Phoebe Garver, $2,000 to his daughter-in-law, Eva B. Garver, $1,000 to Grace Sheeleigh, sister of Elizabeth, and "in token of our unbroken friendship for many years and in appreciation of his sterling integrity" he bequeathed $500 to James E. Larimer, his former law partner and friend. In the event that Elizabeth preceded him in death (as she did), all property assigned to her was given to son Robert and his heirs.

Tributes

After his death, the State Savings Bank of Topeka, Kansas, adopted the following Resolution and affixed their seal and ribbon thereto:

> "Whereas, the death of Judge T. F. Garver has taken from the Board of Directors of the State Savings Bank of Topeka, Kansas, one of its most valuable and faithful members, a gentleman whose superior intelligence, absolute honesty, broad experience and keen vision made him a most valuable member of the Board.

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1. Gas Service Co. publication

Now, therefore be it resolved, that we hereby express our sincere appreciation of his long period of splendid service and excellent spirit of loyalty to this bank and our great regret and sorrow in losing him....."

The Shawnee County Bar Association presented the following memorial in part to Franklin:

"Throughout his entire professional career, Judge Garver was a man of unusual ability. He was a most able student of the law, but more distinctive than his legal ability was the steadfastness of character which marked him as a great lawyer. Judge Garver was a man who took seriously the duties and obligations of his profession, and while he was at all times loyal to the interests of his clients, he never stooped to the doing of an ignoble act. Trickery, unfair dealing, or sharp practice were never indulged in by Judge Garver. He played a prominent part in much of the important litigation throughout the state and handled many cases of state-wide importance. As a lawyer of integrity and high standing, and as a gentleman at all times, he commanded the respect of all judges before whom he practiced and the reverence and love of his associates at the bar...

"Judge Garver lived a well rounded life. He was not only interested in the profession to which he devoted most of his active career, but was also a prominent and active worker in many philanthropies of this city and state. He was not completely absorbed in his own offices and did not live to himself alone. His influence for good was felt by innumerable friends and acquaintances, and his kindly ministrations benefited a large number of people of this state. He had a broad vision of his profession and his practice was largely one of service to his community. He was a thorough gentleman as well as an able lawyer. As an elder of the First Presbyterian Church of the City of Topeka, he was outstanding in his influence for good. Nor was such influence confined to his church activities but it was carried into his daily life. His whole life was built solidly upon his faith in his fellowmen as well as the great faiths of his religion. As A 'Gentleman of the Old School,' as we are pleased to think of him, he represented a type of lawyer which it is difficult to improve upon, a type which may well be emulated by the younger members of this bar.

"A man of splendid physical appearance, tall and erect, he commanded the attention and confidence of the public. As a young man in 1867, he was a lieutenant in the Army of the Republic, and kept the splendid military carriage of an army man throughout his life. It was a pleasure to his many friends to see him upon the street or in the courtroom - always erect, shoulders back and head up - a man of dignity.

"Judge Garver was not an emotional or demonstrative man, but he had a generous heart. During all the years of his practice in Topeka, he was a regular and systematic contributor to and interested in the philanthropies of this city as well as his church. .... His practice never was so pressing or business so urgent to prevent him from doing a kindly act.

"He was recognized as a lawyer of great ability and was a member of the American Bar Association, the State Bar Association of Kansas, and the Bar Association of this county. Loyal to his family, loyal to his ideals, loyal to his country, generous to the philanthropies of his city, competent in his life work, a man of dignity and integrity and kindly acts -- surely this is a good record to leave his family and a good example to the members of this bar.

"Judge Garver will long be remembered by the members of this bar as an able lawyer and a Christian gentleman, and the influence of his life will long be felt and his loss mourned by this bar as well as by the community at large."

In a book of biographical sketches of prominent Kansans, Kansas and Kansans, 1928, it was written:

"One of the older members of the legal profession, no one is held in higher respect and esteem than Theodore Franklin Garver of Topeka, for he is generally acknowledged to possess a ready and sound judgment in broad and intricate matters of civil jurisprudence, and his knowledge of the law is remarkable for its comprehensiveness and accuracy, while in its application he is earnest, concise, logical, and forceful, fairly earning high standing in the ranks of his profession...The hospitality of Judge Garver's home has been enjoyed through all these years by a circle of friends from at home and abroad. The evening of life finds him still active in his profession and deeply interested in movements of an ennobling character, still ready through example to encourage

all that leads men to higher things and still hopeful that the city in which he has lived for so many years will ultimately reach the perfection toward which he has labored."

In Eminent Men of Kansas, 1901, they wrote:

"....He is steadfast in both politics and religion. As a citizen, as a lawyer at the bar, and as judge upon the bench, his record has been without reproach. He enjoys the fullest confidence of his friends, and his ability and integrity have never been questioned, even by his political opponents."

In the October 26, 1892 of the Topeka Daily Capital, it was written:

"He is one of the ablest lawyers in Kansas and every lawyer in Kansas knows that Mr. Garver would serve the state with great ability. His character is spotless and he is a strong man in every sense of the word."

T. Franklin Garver, in life and in death, received the highest written accolades any man could hope to receive -- a great legacy to pass onto his family and descendants.

Unfortunately, his two grandchildren, Mary and George, children of Robert, were not old enough before his death to look beyond his serious facade. They only remember him as awesome, stern, and sober. Their visits to his home, which they recalled as "dark and scary", were characterized by the old way of raising children -- "seen and not heard." And although they lived in his home for several months in 1919 and were surely loved by their grandfather, they have scant recollections of those times in comparison with many memories of a carefree life with their maternal grandparents. It is sad that youth did not have time to appreciate those qualities that Franklin's contemporaries recognized and honored. Ironically, his grandson George, judging from the memorial tributes, resembled his grandfather very much (his character, posture, reputation, personality) when he became an adult.

The serious young man who grew up amidst a loving family on the rolling green hills of Pennsylvania, who saw and heard the sounds of the Battle of Gettysburg, who migrated to the frontier West, and who became influential and prominent in his lifelong endeavors, left a great heritage to his descendants, of which they can be very proud. His job here on earth was well done.

Mary Garver

Birth: November 4, 1845, Lebanon, Pennsylvania

Parents: John and Elizabeth (Seltzer) Diller

Marriage: February 10, 1870, Lebanon, Pennsylvania

Children:
1. Bertram
2. Sarah Elizabeth (Bessie)
3. Robert Diller
4. John Diller

Death: January 6, 1919, Topeka, Kansas

Burial: Gypsum Hill Cemetery, Salina, Kansas

Mary was born November 4, 1845, the daughter of John and Elizabeth Diller.[1] Nothing is known about her education, but it is likely she had received a higher education, judging from her interests and literary writing.

As a young girl she was very attractive with dark brown hair, parted in the middle with braided "rosettes" over her ears. Her eyes appeared to be dark brown and very appealing. As she grew older, she continued to look very sober and serious, yet distinguished, in photographs. In her later years, as shown in snapshots taken while on vacation in Michigan, she wore dark, unfashionable, unadorned plain dresses with an uninteresting straw hat.

Although there are references that Mary and Franklin attended the parties given by the Parkhursts, visited them in their Michigan cottage, and were friends through their children, one feels that perhaps the Garvers were not interested in the side of life that included gold French chairs in ballrooms, elegant pink beaded ball gowns and a house filled with flowers for social events and musicales, chronicled by the newspapers. The Garvers were surely as financially affluent as the Parkhursts but that life style did not appeal to them.

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1. The Diller Family

Strangely, that was the flamboyant way of life for Franklin's brothers in the East.

Reference is made to the Garver china and silver by Elizabeth Sheeleigh in one of her letters. It is possible that their granddaughter Mary may have some of the dishes in her possession, but she is unable to identify them. (1983) Two of their chairs have been restored and were given by Mary to George Garver's step daughter, Kathleen Hartigan. They are being cared for and treasured by her because of their history and her affection for George. Apart from the aforementioned photograph album, those pieces of furniture are perhaps the only material possessions to indicate the existence of Mary and Franklin.

Mary's obituary[1] stated she was active in the Presbyterian Church and was a prominent club woman for many years. She was a member of Western Sorosis, one of Topeka's oldest women's clubs. She was also a member of the Good Government Club, of the Shawnee County Political Science Club and of the Women's Christian Temperance Union.

In the 1900 Census it showed that Mary had full time household help, Sophie Carlson, aged 34, born in Sweden. She had immigrated to America in 1886.

In writing of her death, the Topeka State Journal[2] described her as "a pioneer woman of Kansas" and "a well known Topeka woman." ...."Mrs. Garver, in a quiet way, took an interest in public and philanthropic affairs."

The Journal wrote that she died January 6 at 3:45 a.m. after a long illness. "Early in November she suffered a stroke that rendered her helpless." The Capital stated that she was stricken with

1. Topeka, Daily Capital, January 7, 1919, p. 8
2. Topeka State Journal, January 6, 1919, p. 1

paralysis September 4th and had been in semi-conscious state since that time.

Funeral services were held the following Wednesday afternoon in their Topeka home at 715 Harrison at 4 o'clock, after which her body was taken to Salina, where she was buried beside her son Bertram and daughter in Gypsum Hill Cemetery. Her younger son, Navy Lt. John Diller Garver arrived from Hoboken, New Jersey on the day of the funeral. Ironically, a month later on February 11, John was to die and his body returned to the same address on Harrison Street, where he had a military funeral. Then he too was laid to rest in Gypsum Hill.

At the time of Mary's death, the papers were filled with the report of the death of Theodore Roosevelt. The Roosevelts were also affected by the war, having very recently lost their youngest son, Lt. Quentin Roosevelt, who had lost his life in combat in Germany.

The Diller Genealogy is included in the Appendix.

DILLER GENEALOGY

Anna Mary Garver, nee Diller, was the daughter of John and Elizabeth Seltzer Diller. After Mary's death, their husband, Franklin Garver, married her niece, Elizabeth Seltzer Sheeleigh, daughter of her sister Sabina Margaret. Attached is a lineage chart, which applies, of course, to Elizabeth as well as Mary. Also in the author's files is a detailed and well written history, The Diller Family,dated 1877. Elizabeth and her father did considerable research on the Diller family, pursuant to her efforts to become a member of the D.A.R. Most of the information in this section is from The Diller Family.

The Diller background was very similar to Franklin's in many respects: geography, ancestors came from the Palatinate area (Swiss/German) to Lancaster County, Pennsylvania; religion, both had strong Lutheran ties on both sides of the families and it was undoubtedly a factor and reason for their emigration; ethnically, both shared German or Swiss roots; politics, many members of both families accepted and sought the responsibilities of government in their new country; careers, the early settlers were all involved in agricultural pursuits; time, both came to America in 1733, with their trips originating in Germany.

I GENERATION - CASPAR DILLER

In order to fully appreciate the motivation and courage of the Diller ancestors who came to America, it is helpful to consider the political and religious climate from which they fled.

As background, one should go back to the Reformation and Religious Wars in 1517 and the massacre of St. Bartholomew in France in 1572. In 1598, the Edict of Nantes, granting equal rights to all Protestants was published. For almost a century the Protestants tasted the delicious fruits of religious freedom. Then in 1685 the Edict was revoked. Brutal persecution of Protestants occurred. Marriages were declared illegal and their children were classified as illegitimate. Military executions ran rampant. Heidelberg was plundered and went down in flames in 1622.

As a result there occurred a mass exodus from Germany and by 1690, over one million people had fled to Holland, England and America. (William Penn colonized Pennsylvania in 1682.) Alsace, a province in France on the German Line, was nearly depopulated.

It was in this province that the Diller progenitor, Caspar Elias Diller, lived with his family. It was believed by family historians,

as written in The Diller Family, that Caspar's father went to Holland with his family about 1685. Around 1708 or 1709, they believed that Caspar then moved to England, along with "a large number of refugees", where later he married Anna Barbara _____, an Englishwoman, of "large stature, masculine development, and a bountiful supply of hair."

The evolution of the spelling and pronunciation of the family name, Diller, is an indication of their various homelands.

The name in France (Alsace) was spelled "De-ller," and pronounced "De-lare". In Holland it was spelled "Dullor" or "Dulor". Since the English language has no "u", it was spelled "Deelor" there. In America it appeared as "De-ller" or "Diller." Some historians felt the French extraction was evident because the names of the two oldest sons were preceded by "Han", which is a form of the French name, "Jean."

The same family historians noted that in the early days the Dillers were "unusually strong, large and bulky". They were over 6 feet in height and often weighed 200 to 300 lbs.

The move to England was apparently not advantageous for these persecuted pilgrims. Rupp's Collection of 3,000 Names of Immigrants in Pennsylvania, says that 7,000, after having suffered great privations, returned in despondency to their native country. Ten thousand died from want of sustenance and medical attention. The survivors were transported to English colonies in America.

Thus, it is believed that Caspar and Barbara returned to their native land, living in the Pflatz or Palatinate, 11 1/2 miles from Heidelberg. Their son, Han Philip Adam, is recorded as having been born there.

Perhaps because Barbara was unable to adjust to the language and customs of the Continent, plus the unsettled conditions of the country, in 1733,Casper, aged 37, Barbara, 30, and their four children set sail for Philadelphia on the ship Samuel of London with Hugh Percy, master, qualified August 17, 1733. The children who accompanied them were: Han Philip Adam, aged 10, Han Martin, aged 8, Rosina, aged 4, and Christina, aged 2.

They settled near New Holland in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, probably first in a place later called Kinzer Homestead. The owner in 1877 reported that Barbara had brought a graft of a pear tree in her large trunks and planted it on the land. It had survived almost 150 years and its fruit became known as the Diller Pear. Another descendant reported hearing that Barbara arrived with an "apron full of silver."

From that location they moved nearby to a farm which Caspar purchased and called Loch Platz or Hole Place. In addition to his agricultural endeavors, Caspar was a shoemaker by trade. A descendant, Juliana Diller Dietrich, reported having a pair of wooden shoes made by Caspar -- further indication of his residence in Holland. One report in The Diller Family (page 8) stated he "got to be very wealthy." On December 16, 1769, Caspar deeded 336 Acres to his son Caspar -- a large tract of land for those days.

Anna Barbara died and in 1756 Caspar married Eve Magdalene Meyer and they obviously had children since Caspar was survived by ten children when he died, June 25, 1796. His known children were;

Han Philip Adam (1723 - 1777)
Han Martin (1725 -
Rosina (1729 -
Christina (1731 -
Eleanor (1741 -
Charlotte Barbara (1746 -
Caspar Elias Jr.
Juliana
Mary Magdalena

One reference said his tombstone was located in the Hill Church Cemetery, a few miles from Lebanon. (1)

1. Elizabeth Sheeleigh Garver

II GENERATION - HANS MARTIN DILLER

After Caspar, Mary and Elizabeth Garver's next direct ancestor was his son Han Martin. He was born in Europe in 1725, presumably in the Palatinate. After coming to America in 1733 and growing to manhood, he married Christine _____. We know of three children in their family: Philip Adam (sometimes just referred to as Adam), John, and Christina.

The story handed down through the generations is that there was a family graveyard on Loch Platz, established there in accordance with a custom common among early settlers. By 1877, there were only four remaining tombstones there. However, a few hundred yards south was the gravesite of Han Martin. The tale went that for some reason Han Martin would not be buried in the old graveyard and before his death selected this spot under a chestnut tree, not far from the Welch mountain. In 1877, Levi Diller reported the land was all cultivated, the tree gone, and nothing remained to mark the spot. A neighbor at that time reported he remembered the name of Han Martin and said that five years previously (circa 1870) the five or six large sized tombstones, some very old, had been removed to some unknown last resting place.

III GENERATION - JOHN DILLER

To follow Mary's direct line we next observe John Diller, born November 12, 1748, in Pennsylvania. He married Magdalena_____ and lived in the Churchtown, Pennsylvania, area in Lancaster County. He is buried in the Lutheran graveyard at New Holland by the side of his brother Adam. He and Magdalena had eight children: Michael, John, Martin, Adam, Elizabeth (Weaver), Mary (Sneder), Anna Margaret and Magdalene (Mentzer).

According to Pennsylvania Archives (Series 5, Vol. 7, p. 506, p. 517 and p. 519) John was a member of the 8th Co. of the 5th Battalion of Lancaster Co., Militia in 1782. It is this war record that entitled his descendants membership to the D.A.R. His registered number is 103393 and 103394.

IV GENERATION - ADAM DILLER

Adam Diller, son of John Diller, was born January 16, 1784. He was married to Margaret Mark on March 27, 1807, in Lebanon, Pennsylvania. Margaret was born April 15, 1787, and died January 12, 1861. She was the granddaughter of William Killan Mark (1719 - 1792) and wife Katherine. Her parents were Conard (1743 - 1823) and Margaret Sheaffer Mark (1763-1837). They were married in 1780 or 1782.

The Marks came to America in 1735 on the ship Mercury from Rotterdam. Conard was a farmer and had property in Lebanon. He took his oath of allegiance in 1778 before Henry Therme at Palmyra and was a private in Peter Grubs Co., Warwick Township, according to Pennsylvania Archives, series 5, Vol. 7, page 9. In 1782 he was listed as a private in Capt. Krause's Co. (Series 5, Vol. 7, p. 174.)

Adam and Margaret had four children: Justina (Roedel), John Diller, Dr. David Diller, M.D., and Mary (Roedel). Adam was buried on March 22, 1814, by Dr. Lochmann. Adam's and Margaret's tombstones are located in Tabor Cemetery, Lebanon.

V GENERATION - JOHN DILLER

John Diller, Mary Garver's father and Elizabeth Garver's grandfather, was born February 24, 1810, and baptized April 3, 1809, by Rev. George Lochmann, with his parents as sponsors. (1) From his photograph he appeared to be a very large man with gray hair, large features and heavy set. In 1829, he married Elizabeth Seltzer (1810-1849) of Jonestown, Pa. He died September 16, 1888. (2)

They had eight children five of whom were: Sabina Margaret (Sheeleigh), Matilda E. (Dawalt), Adam Seltzer, Eliza, and Anna Mary (known as Mary), who married Franklin Garver.

Sabina Margaret was born June 13, 1830, was married May 3, 1859, to Matthias Sheeleigh, and died June 17, 1909. Matthias Sheeleigh was born December 29, 1821, and died June 15, 1900. To this union was born Luther Diller, born March 9, 1860; Elizabeth "Lizzie" Seltzer (Garver); Mary Orner (Rupp) (1864-); Matthias Muhlenberg Diller (1866 - 1894); and Grace Matilda (1872 -).

Matilda E., born August 10, 1832, married Jacob Dawalt, a geeseman and cashier at Bank of Shippensburg, Pa. He was born Aug. 14, 1819, and died May 23, 1887.

Adam Seltzer Diller (1834 - 1853) died while a student at Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pa., preparing for the Lutheran ministry.

Eliza was born on August 10, 1843. She remained unmarried and lived with her father.

Mary, as noted in her biographical sketch, was born November 4, 1845 and died January 6, 1919.

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1. Church Records, Salem Evangelical Lutheran Church, Lebanon, Pa., as per letter written to Elizabeth Garver by Rev. A. Chas. R. Kerter, Pastor, Aug.1, 1927.
2. Church Records, Zion Lutheran Church, Lebanon, Pa., written by Mr. Rhoades, pastor to Elizabeth Garver.
3. Information about John Diller children was secured from Mary Orner Rupp

JOHN DILLER

MARY (CLARK-GAINES)

HANS JACOB GERBER

CHRISTIAN GARVER
1720 (?) - 1798
Elizabeth _____ (3)
1757- 1828

SAMUEL I
1782-1853
Margaret Emrick
1785-1854

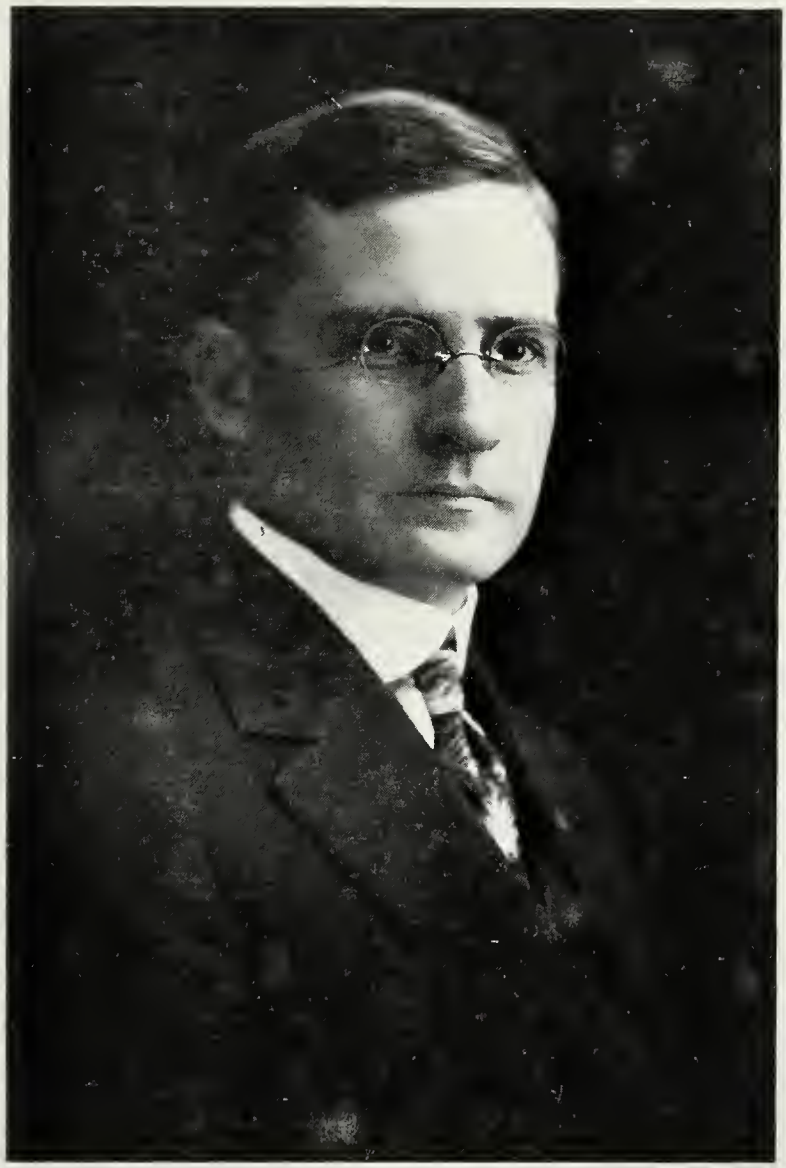
SAMUEL II
1821-1916
Sarah Coldsmith
1820-1902

THEODORE FRANKLIN
1845-1929
Mary Diller
1845-1919

ROBERT DILLER
1878-1963
Charlotte Parkhurst
1879-1971

George Parkhurst
1905-1978

Mary Margaret
1912 --



ROBERT DILLER GARVER
1870 - 1963 Circa: 1919

ROBERT DILLER GARVER

Born: January 15, 1878, Salina, Kansas (1)

Parents: Third child of Franklin and Mary Diller Garver

Marriage: Charlotte Estelle Parkhurst, (11-16-1904), Topeka, Kansas

Children: George Parkhurst Garver, 1905
Mary Margaret Garver, 1912

Death: December 5, 1963, Passavant Hospital, Chicago, Ill. (2)

Robert was born in Salina, Kansas, on January 15, 1878, the son of a prosperous and influential lawyer and judge, T. Franklin Garver, and his wife, Mary..

During his early years in Salina, he attended St. John's Lutheran Church, which was founded by a group comprised of his parents and his father's sister, Mrs. Thomas Bond. Besides being related, Thomas Bond was the law partner of Franklin and the Bonds had six children, all of whom were in the approximate age range with Robert. One must assume, knowing the closeness of the Garver clan and the business association, that there were many family gatherings at which the cousins frolicked together.

His young life was touched with tragedy in 1889 when his older brother, Bertram, was accidentally shot to death by a young friend in a hunting accident. Through the years he would not speak of this loss. In later life he became close to his brother John, who was eight years younger.

Robert attended and graduated from the public schools in Salina and attended his freshman college year at Kansas Wesleyan College in Salina in 1878.(1)

1. Kansas - Vol. III, 1928, p. 1590
2. Chicago Tribune, December 7, 1963

In January of 1897, when Franklin's term as Judge of the newly created Court of Appeals expired,the Garver family moved to Topeka, Kansas.[1] There Robert, who became known as "Rob" to his family and "Bob" to his friends, attended Washburn College for a year. After this period he transferred to Kansas University in Lawrence and received his A.B. Degree in 1900.

While in undergraduate college at K.U., he became a member of Phi Kappa Psi, the national fraternity, to which his father and several uncles had belonged. Eventually his son George also became a member of that organization. He also was active in the Mandolin Chorus and in theatrical productions. In his senior year he portrayed the role of Tommy Blase in the play "A Runaway Girl", written and presented by the Class of 1900. In 1901 he entered Albany (New York) Law School, his father's alma mater, was graduated in 1902, and then returned to Topeka and became associated with his father in the firm of Garver & Garver.

While Robert Garver's legal and political career were blossoming, dramatic changes were taking place in his private life, the first of which was his marriage to Charlotte Parkhurst, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. George W. Parkhurst on November 16, 1904 at 8:30 p.m. in the First Presbyterian Church in Topeka, Kansas.

One of the newspapers printed:

> "No wedding of the several fashionable and important ones which have taken place in Topeka this fall exceeds this one in general interest. Miss Parkhurst is an unusually winsome and charming girl of many graces and accomplishments who has lived in Topeka all her life and is very generally beloved. Mr. Garver who is the son of Judge and Mrs. T. F. Garver is associated with his father in the practice of law and is a young man of talent and promise. The wedding will be large and elaborate and is the most important event on the local social calendar for November."

The other newspapers repeated this same sentiment in their accounts.

1. Kansas, Vol III, 1929, p. 1590

Charlotte, known as "Lottie" to her friends, was acclaimed for her beauty, her winning ways, her musical talent, her selflessness and her charm. As an only child, she was adored by her parents. Her father, a prosperous wholesale grocer before he retired at an early age, was a dapper happy gentleman and her mother, only 17 years older than her daughter, was an accomplished soprano who devoted her life to music, teaching, playing and singing. She performed many concerts on the Chautauqua Circuit and also sang with the Chicago Symphony Orchestra under the direction of Mr. Thomas. In later years Charlotte traveled with her as her accomplished pianist. The Parkhursts were leaders in Topeka society and Mrs. Parkhurst became the personification of a "grande dame" in her demeanor and strength.

Charlotte attended the Potwin Public School in North Topeka. On June 19, 1899, she received her Bachelor of Music Degree from the College of Sisters of Bethany after studying there for four years. After graduation she studied music for a year in New York City. When 18 years old she spent a summer in Europe, concentrating on her love of music and art. In London she hired a young artist to copy several works of art at the Tate Gallery. One of these was "Hopeless Dawn" which hung in her homes for years before it graced the walls of the George Garver home. Today (1987) others can be found in their daughter Mary's Florida home and her grandson's, Graham Campbell, home in California... She was an innately artistic person with her sensitivities honed to the love of culture and beauty, as evidenced by her library. In later years, this accomplished musician played the organ in the Second Presbyterian Church in Kansas City and was active in her musical sorority until she could no longer play and moved to Chicago.

When Charlotte and Robert announced their desire to marry, they were given their blessing by her parents on the condition that they would live with them in the beautiful new home at 835 Tyler Street, Topeka, which they were building. They agreed.

When they were married invitations were sent to the Garver family including Samuel Garver, who was living in New York at the time, Reverend Austin in Worcester, Mass., John Anson in New York City, Emma Thompson in Atlantic City, Alice Bond in Salina, Kansas and Phoebe Garver in Chmbersburg. None but Alice Bond attended but Reverend Austin sent a painting of an angel and silver dishes were received from John Anson and Samuel.

The author has included a portion of the published description of the wedding to show the elegance of life in a young western town in the early 1900's. From the Topeka Herald, November 17, 1904:

"The most elaborately beautiful wedding of the season and the largest event of the kind that Topeka has known for a number of years was that of Miss Charlotte Estelle Parkhurst ....and Mr. Robert Diller Garver.....

"The audience room of the church was filled with the many friends of the bride and groom and their families. The pews nearest the pulpit were removed and a square, white canvas stretched in front of the altar, reached to the pyramid of green which entirely covered and hid the pulpit and in the center of which was a huge bunch of white chrysanthemums. The choir loft was screened with southern smilax....the choir took up the strains of the Lohengrin wedding march and the attention of every person was eagerly directed toward the broad south door where the bridal party was to enter.....

"The young women attendants were all in pink Japanese silk gowns, sun-plaited, with decollete bodices, round length skirts and wore bebe hats with pink roses and low coiffures. All carried pink roses.....The bride's toilet was of white satin and duchesse lace. The bodice had a yoke and collar of tucked chiffon and bertha of duchesse, elbow sleeves and a broad girdle. The skirt had a tucked yoke and was adorned with groups of cording. The bride's long tulle veil, fastened with maidenhair fern, reached to the floor and her bouquet of white roses was tied with long hoops of white satin ribbon which hung to the foot of her gown, weighted with small bunches of lilies of the valley.....

"The decorations in the drawing room (of the Parkhurst home) were pink chrysanthemums, in the living room yellow chrysanthemums were used, the massive mantle having a perfect shower of these flowers and asparagus fern. In the dining room the ebony table with its lace and linen doilies had a centerpiece of white roses, the vase being tied with a large bow of white tulle. Over the center of the table the lights hung low, shaded with a large ball-

shaped leaded glass in tones of yellow and covered with roses and their foliage..Coffee was served on the second floor in the wide hall. In the library, music and billiard rooms on the third floor the most exquisite display of wedding gifts was to be seen and here punch was served.....

"Mr. and Mrs. Robert Garver have gone for a trip to St. Louis and Chicago and will be at home after January 1 at 835 Tyler Street."

The reporter from the Topeka Journal described the bridesmaids as wearing "graceful pink frocks and big picture hats of pink valenciennes lace trimmed with pink velvet roses and were a veritable 'rosebud garden of girls'". The bridesmaids were "gowned exactly alike from the nodding roses to the tips of their pale pink shoes".. Describing the dining room chandelier she wrote, "the chandelier had been converted into a great wedding bell, bell and clapper alike...."The orchestra was stationed in the billiard room on the third floor."

Prior to the wedding, there were a number of elegant parties given for the couple. At the bridal dinner, the paper reported, "The name cards, done in watercolors by Mr. Garver, who has a very graceful talent in that direction, had a cupid design and a Shakespearean verse chosen with especial reference to the guest for which each was intended. Cupid was also in evidence in the ice course where he appeared with his bow and arrow on his back standing in the heart of a great pink rose. At the close of the dinner the loving cup was passed, the bride and groom toasted and the bride's cake was cut by Miss Parkhurst (with the symbolic ring, dime, thimble and bodkin.) The dinner was also made the occasion for the exchange of the wedding gifts .....Mr. Garver's present to Miss Parkhurst was a diamond bar pin and hers to him a scarf pin..." The name cards were really exceptional and included the autograph of each of the guests. The bride's Wedding Book holds samples of Robert's artistic work. The family has other examples of his painting.

At another bridal party, the breakfast menu consisted of grapefruit, chicken ala creme, pineapple ice, potatoes au gratin, sweet potatoes ala pon, olives, marine salad, cheese wafers, ice cream, bride's cake, nut cake, coffee, bonbons.

One year later November 30, 1905, their first child was born, George Parkhurst, named after his maternal grandfather. On August 31, 1912, a daughter, Mary, added to their joys. Charlotte was as dedicated to her music, accompanying her mother and presenting musicales, as Robert was dedicated to his law practice with his father and his subsequent judgeships.

Each Sunday the family paid their weekly visit to Franklin and Mary Garver. Judging from Mary and George's adult impressions, it would appear that the children did not look forward to this duty call. They remembered the house as dark and the grandparents as stern.

In 1911 he was appointed by Governor Stubbs as Judge of the Court of Topeka, to succeed Judge Simon who resigned January 1.[1] The Topeka paper wrote that "The new judge assumed his office today and held court this afternoon, as there were many cases on the docket for trial." It also wrote that "Mr. Garver had the general support of the Topeka bar, ninety attorneys having endorsed him. Besides Mr. Garver there were five other candidates for the vacancy." He served in this position for four years. A Topeka paper wrote: "...he discharged the duties with marked success."

Another Topeka paper wrote:

"Judge Robert D. Garver, of the city court, began leading a strenuous life the day after his appointment to his judgeship. Tuesday night he was routed out of bed at the George W. Parkhurst residence where he was staying, with the cry of "Fire!' ringing in his ears. He got busy at once and helped quench the blaze that had started there, spending considerable time in the middle of the night. Yesterday morning he showed up at his post on time but with clothing that showed water stains, and was busy all the morning and part of the afternoon trying cases. It is said that a busy day is the proper introduction of a new judge to his duties, but the fire in the middle of the night was more than was to be expected.."

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1. Kansas, Vol III, 1928, p. 1590

Following the assignment as city Judge he served as assistant county attorney under W. E. Atchison. A Topeka paper wrote:

"With the New Year came the announcement that Judge Robert D. Garver who retires from the bench of the court of Topeka on January 11 will assume the duties of assistant county attorney.. ...Friends of Judge Garver and Mr. Atchison are today congratulating them heartily upon the appointment which is a popular one ....It is noteworthy that Judge Garver is a prominent Republican while his new chief is a Democrat."

An amusing note was recorded in the paper:

"Robert D. Garver, assistant county attorney, does not believe in rushing the season. He appeared at the court house this morning dressed immaculately in a Palm Beach suit. Then trouble began for him. The wind came through the open windows and the starchy suit rustled like dry leaves. Garver shivered and inquired of Bill Anderson, clerk in the office, if he had time to go out for an overcoat. Bill smiled and explained that after September 1, Palm Beach suits were supposed to be relegated to the clothes press. All morning long Garver shivered and complained but got no sympathy from anyone."

After serving in the capacity of assistant county attorney he was elected county attorney in 1916. A Topeka paper writes of his capabilities for this post:

"Judge Garver's friends are backing him as the logical candidate for the Republican nomination as county attorney. Mr. Atchison considers him one of the ablest lawyers in Shawnee County and his experience as Judge of the Court of Topeka for two terms has fitted him splendidly for work in the county attorney's office. Judge Garver has intimate knowledge of both criminal and civil law and his decisions during the last four years have met with approval from the full membership of the Shawnee County Bar.

It is interesting to note that in this small community that some of Judge Garver's cases were as violent as those today. One case concerned the brutal slaying of an "innocent little girl, Elsie Dinsmore, who had trusted her slayer (Fred Bissell) and loved him because he brought her candy." The paper points out the fact (familiar to the public of today) that the Judge left many loopholes through which the jury might find sufficient grounds to render a verdict of acquittal with the familiar quote, "If the jury cannot say it believes beyond a reasonable doubt that the

defendant was sane at the time he committed the alleged act, the jury is bound to acquit him." This was despite the confession made by the murderer. The paper commends County Attorney Garver on his conviction and the clean cut concise talk of 20 minutes in which he brought out the strong points of the prosecution.

Another interesting case was the trial of J. C. Clarke Gresser, charged with embezzlement of $5,000 from the Citizens State Bank in North Topeka. In the selection of a jury, the defendant's lawyer, Mr. McKever, asked Mrs. Bostick, the one lady chosen to be on the jury, "Would the fact that Mr. Garver, the county attorney, is a handsome man, have any effect on your verdict?" Mrs. Bostick replied: "No, sir."

At another point in his career, one of the Topeka papers printed the following article:

JURY PRESENTS CHAIR

Remember Judge Garver For Pleasant Relations During Term

"Before the retiring criminal jury left the court house after being dismissed by Judge Robert D. Garver yesterday, they called the judge back to the bench. Then John Schenck, local attorney, speaking in behalf of the jurymen, paid a high tribute to the pleasant relations that have existed between Judge, jury and attorneys during the past erm. At the conclusion of his remarks, he presented a mahogany chair, leather upholstered, to Judge Garver, with the jury's compliments."

This article is noteworthy because the handsome, carved swivel chair is now in the George Garver household and hopefully will be cherished through the years by Judge Garver's descendants.

Unfortunately the author does not have any of the dates for the preceding newspaper quotes, as they were taken from a scrapbook with no dates.

In March of 1918, Robert Garver was appointed District Judge by Governor Capper as judge of the first division of the Shawnee County District to succeed the late Judge A. W. Dana. "He was not a candidate, although more than 2100 petitioners urged his appointment. In fact, he had signed the petition circulated in behalf of Otis Hungate, along with the student body and faculty of Washburn Law School. However, Protestants against the Hungate appointment

united on Garver and the appointment came without his personal solicitation and largely over his protest."

"Judge Garver is one of the youngest district judges--possibly the youngest judge in the state. He passed his fortieth birthday anniversary January 15...He made an excellent record in the lower courts..."

On January 7, 1919 Robert's mother, Mary died. One month later, word was received that his brother John who was a Naval Officer in New York had died of the influenza epidemic that took more lives than the war.....

"As the attorneys were proceeding with questioning the above named men preparatory to forming a jury, Judge Garver received the distressing news of the death of his brother, John Garver, in New York City. Judge Garver dismissed the court for a few minutes, whereupon Judge G. H. Whitcomb took the bench announced the sad news....and said the continuance of the case must be suspended until after the funeral of Judge Garver's brother, whose body would be brought to Topeka for burial." (1)

Obviously these two losses so close together were especially tragic for Franklin, so, being good children, Robert and Charlotte, uprooted their children and moved into the Garver home at 715 Harrison Street, in order to help ease Franklin's pain.

Today (1975) a very handsome portrait in oil of Judge Garver hangs in District #3 Court Room of the County Building, Topeka, Kansas.

After serving as District Judge, Robert Garver was offered a position in the legal department in the Fort Worth offices of the Empire Companies owned by Doherty interests. This company dealt in oil and gas interests. It was reported that the District Judge Office paid $3,000 salary per year, while Garver would be paid $6,500 per year. There were many other rumors and speculation in the papers as to whether he would accept this position. Finally it was announced that he had resigned and would leave his post on September 15, 1919.

1. The Topeka State Journal, February 11, 1919

The Topeka Journal on September 6, 1919, published a long account of Topeka's legal professions' goodbye to Judge Garver. It showed the respect, admiration, and friendship they all felt for him. The article told how over one hundred Topeka attorneys and personal friends left the city in automobiles in the morning for Wakarusa, where they would enjoy an afternoon and evening at the fishing resort of Major A. M. Harvey.

"....Bevo, fried chicken, watermelon and other eats were furnished..... ...Each man was instructed to bring his own raisin if he wanted anything stronger than Bevo. The only bottle opener in the crowd was furnished by Irwin Shattinger, Assistant County Attorney."

The jovial entertainment consisted of a mock trial with Judge Garver being "arrested" and standing trial and sentenced to live in the State of Texas. "Aside from the feed and the trial the chief amusement was horseshoe pitching in which many judges and ex-judges squabbled about 'nears' and 'leaners' and 'ringers' in a manner most unprofessional. A boxing contest closed the program." The highlight of the farewell party was the presentation of an open-faced gold watch presented to Judge Garver. This watch is in the possession of his daughter Mary.

The informality and detail of the reporting of those days tells much about little details in the lives and attitudes of people of those days.

Along these lines, it is interesting to note an article in The Topeka Daily Capital, dated March 24, 1929. This article was written by Mrs. W. E. Atchison about her trip to South Africa. (Robert served as County attorney under her husband in 1913.) She wrote, "The speaker of the Parliament wears a black gown and incidentally looks like Robert Garver." This had to be complimentary to Robert to think that the public would remember the young attorney who left Topeka ten years beforehand.

In September 1919, the family moved to Ft. Worth, Texas. George's remembrances of his days in school there were very pleasant. The family in years to come took many trips and Robert

engaged in his hobby of taking movies to record these trips as well as family holidays.

In May, 1922, he was transferred from Fort Worth to Bartlesville, Oklahoma, as attorney for the gas division of the Empire Gas & Fuel Company. Here, through his position and Charlotte's music this attractive couple carved a familiar niche for themselves in their social life.

In May, 1925, he was transferred to Kansas City, Missouri, the new headquarters for the Doherty interests, as general counsel for the Gas Service Company, which operated all city service natural gas distributing companies in Kansas, Oklahoma, and Missouri. His friend, Ben C. Adams, was in charge of the new organization.

As he had excelled in his legal and judicial career, his intelligence, abilities, and judgment were soon recognized in his new field of utilities. He became a director of the Kansas City Gas Company, which was a holding company for Cities Service distributing companies at an annual meeting held in the company's office at 910 Grand Avenue. He was involved in a number of successful and important cases in the U.S. Supreme Court, pertaining to the regulation of pipeline companies doing an interstate business. These decisions would have a far reaching effect on the industry, taking them from under the jurisdiction of the state public utility boards and placing them under that of the interstate commerce commission. His successful fight of the Cities Service interests against the assaults of the Kansas City Star and Governor Woodring administration was another important case. "...His efforts were crowned with success by the decision of a 3 judge federal court in Topeka."

In an editorial concerning this Kansas regulatory case it was printed:

"No such challenge as that of Judge Garver was ever made in a Kansas tribunal before."

In answer to Governor Woodring's statement, one paper referred to a two column statement issued by Judge Robert D. Garver -- "an exercise in mental brawn, courage, knowledge, conviction....He wrote, 'I have read Governor Woodring's statement and am astonished at the venom and malice displayed.'"

In 1947 Robert wrote a corporate history of The Gas Service Company. While living in Kansas City, Robert was a member of Mission Hills Country Club, the Second Presbyterian Church, Delta Chi, legal fraternity, Kansas City Club, American Bar Association and Masonic Lodge.

On January 1, 1950, after 30 years and 4 months of service, Robert Garver retired. The author does not have exact dates from this time on, however, it is known that he had intestinal and prostate operations in addition to a number of strokes and Charlotte's beautiful music was stilled by crippling arthritis which twisted her talented hands. Eventually, with both Mary and George living in Chicago, they gave up their lovely home on 811 W. 61st Street Terrace, sold most of their belongings and left the friends who loved them. They were moved in a private plane belonging to the Natural Gas Pipeline Company, headed by son George, to an apartment in Chicago at 900 Lake Shore Drive overlooking Lake Michigan, where each of them had nurses around the clock -- a sad ending to such dynamic lives -- but they had their solicitous loving children and grandchildren nearby.

On December 5, 1963, Robert died at the age of 86, in Passavant Memorial Hospital. Funeral services were held at the Lain & Son Chapel, Chicago.[1]

Charlotte lived on in poor health in the Lake Shore Drive Apartment with a companion, never complaining, accepting her arthritic pain, and holding "court" each Sunday for her children. She celebrated her 91st birthday with a surprise visit from her loving grandsons, Bob Garver and Graham Campbell. She died June 2, 1971, in Passavant Memorial Hospital as a result of cardiac failure

1. Chicago Tribune, December 7, 1963

caused by arteriosclerotic heart disease and pneumonitis.

After cremation burial services for both Robert and Charlotte were conducted in Forest Hill Abbey[1] in Kansas City on June 11, 1971. It was to their credit that after many years' absence from Kansas City, a number of their old friends came to bid them a final farewell.

Note: The following is an observation on the life style and moods of Robert Garver -- by the author who never had the privilege of meeting him. Admittedly these judgments may very well be wrong but his personal life story was different from the average, especially viewed objectively.

"Cause and Effect"

Those who knew Robert agree that he was a serious, quiet, unemotional man. In his prime years, he was completely dedicated to his career and its success and was highly respected by his business peers, receiving acclaim far beyond that of an average man. He was endowed with high intelligence and the Garver feeling of security which had been inate in his forefathers for three generations. These qualities were also those of his father, Franklin.

His life, however, from the time of his marriage, took a different turn from that of his father or from that of an average independent, ambitious young lawyer. Obviously he had great love and desire for his bride to agree to live with her parents in their home. As dynamic and charming a person as Mrs. Parkhurst was known to be, it had to be a difficult position for a young son-in-law. Mrs. Parkhurst was only 17 years older than her daughter. They had many common interests -- music, poetry, art, musicales, etc. -- and Charlotte was always the dutiful daughter and considerate of her mother's desires. Their social life was inseparable and also their professional life as Charlotte

1. Col. "K" - Section 239

accompanied her mother on her concert tours. After 1910, vacations were spent together in Michigan. Perhaps at times Robert Garver, the young man, felt he was sharing his bride.

When their son George was born, Charlotte's father, a retired jovial grandfather who always had jelly beans in his pocket for his namesake and the time for happy jaunts to the park, won first place in the heart of that little boy.

Although the Parkhurst luxurious home was cohabited by the Garvers, Mrs. Parkhurst had very definite feelings against the use of alcoholic beverages, which were not shared by Robert, who greatly enjoyed his cigarettes and liquor, as did Mr. Parkhurst.

In addition, not only was he living with his wife's parents, eight hours a day he was in law practice with his staid father. Then in 1919 the family moved into his father's house.

When Robert finally moved to Texas and for the first time had his little family with him, his father moved there for a short period. When George Parkhurst died, Mrs. Parkhurst came to live with the Garvers in Kansas City. She lived to the age of 90 (1953). This lifestyle had to be trying for all involved --Robert, Charlotte, the Parkhursts, and the Franklin Garvers. Only the children didn't mind as they loved their Parkhurst grandparents and life in the "big" house.

Mary spent more time with her parents than her brother, both in Kansas City and Chicago, and felt a certain detachment towards her father. When Mary eloped and married her first husband, an eligible bachelor but twenty years Mary's senior, neither Robert nor her mother could ever completely mask their disappointment.

This analysis is not to demean this fine man or the other family members but to perhaps understand what developments in his life shaped the course of events.

As to his withdrawn and quiet personality, Charlotte's diaries for years showed how her every day was filled with fear and concern over his health, his fainting spells, etc. Undoubtedly she saw the changes in her "Rob" that his strokes and illnesses had brought about and sadly understood.

Robert Garver brought about important changes and contributed worthwhile accomplishments in the pioneering gas industry, but probably most important, he upheld the honor and dignity of the Garver name and fulfilled the Garver responsibility for his generation.

CLARK-GAINES)

JOHN ARTZ
1793-1873
m. Sarah Lambert
1792-1880

Katherine Orhbaugh | Rebecca Sello | Elizabeth Handman | SARAH Edwin Dulin | Isaac | Israel | Benjamin

Lester | J.B. | MARY ETTIE DULIN 1863-1953 George Parkhurst 1852-1929 | daughter

CHARLOTTE PARKHURST
1880-1971
Robert Garver
1878-1963

WILLIAM PALMER
1804-1875
Jiminia
1805-1871

Jennie Page
1831-1876

Aaron Southard

ANGELINE
1829-1916
Varnum S. Parkhurst
1821-1900

Carlton Page
1850-1881

Frank H.
1848 - ?

GEORGE W.PARKHURST
1852-1929
Mary Ettie Dulin
1863-1953

Ellen G.
1861-1952

CHARLOTTE PARKHURST
Robert Garver

CLARK-GAINES)

JOHN DILLER GARVER

1886 -- 1919

JOHN DILLER GARVER

Birth: November 7, 1886, Salina, Kansas[1]

Parents: T. Franklin and Mary (Diller) Garver

Marriage: Eva Bessie Bailey on October 23, 1911[2]

Children: No children

Death: February 11, 1919, New York, New York[3]

Burial: Gypsum Hill Cemetery, Salina, Kansas

John Diller Garver was the youngest child of Franklin and Mary Garver, born November 7, 1886, in the family home at 618 E. Iron Avenue, Salina, Kansas. When he was three years old the family moved to a new home at 529 S. Santa Fe Avenue. In 1897 the Garvers left Salina for Topeka, where John attended Topeka High School.[4] After graduation in 1906 he enrolled and attended the University of Kansas from 1906 to 1910.

An article in a Topeka newspaper told of his courtship and marriage to Eva Bessie Bailey:

> "And there is yet another October wedding for now Mr. and Mrs. James M. French, 1264 Topeka Avenue, announce the engagement of their daughter, Eva Bessie Bailey, to Mr. John Diller Garver, the marriage to take place Monday afternoon, October 23, at 4 o'clock at the French home.
>
> "The news does not come as a surprise for Miss Bailey and Mr. Garver have been very good friends ever since they were classmates in high school, both of them having finished their course there in 1906. Afterwards Mr. Garver, who is the son of Judge and Mrs. T. F. Garver, 715 Harrison Street,

1. Kansas and Kansans
2. Topeka paper, undated
3. Topeka Capitol, February 12, 1919
4. Topeka State Journal, February 11, 1919

See Note P. 5

CLARK-GAINES

went to Lawrence where he took an engineering course at Kansas University, and Miss Bailey went to Chicago. She studied music there for a year at Northwestern University and since her return to Topeka has been prominently identified with musical circles.

"She is now organist at the English Lutheran Church and besides being talented musically she is a very charming girl and both she and Mr. Garver have many friends who will be much interested in the news of their engagement announcement.

"Their wedding will not take them out of Topeka for Mr. Garver is employed here by the Santa Fe and he has prepared a home at 1100 Garfield Avenue.

"Both families are well known here, Miss Bailey being the only daughter in her family and a niece of Mrs. George M. Noble. Her brother is Mr. Harold Bailey of Kansas City. Mr. Garver, whose father is a prominent attorney here, is a brother of Judge Robert Garver, of the city court.

"The wedding will be celebrated quietly with only a few friends besides the members of the two families in attendance. ....."

A portion of the account of their wedding in a Topeka paper was preserved:

"....George Noble III and George Garver, a nephew of the bridegroom, carried the ribbons to mark the bridal path. The two little chaps wore white suits and white shoes and hose and carried white satin ribbons. The wedding march was played by Mrs. Arza Clark and Mrs. George W. Parkhurst sang.

"The bride's gown was white messaline with net yoke and sleeves, and she carried a shower bouquet of bride's roses. Probably the most interesting detail of her very lovely costume was a necklace of Roman mosaics which was worn by her grandmother, who was Mrs. F. G. Bailey, at her wedding, and also worn by the bride's aunt, Mrs. A. E. Ranney, of Chicago, at the time of her marriage. Mrs. Ranney was one of the guest at the wedding yesterday.

"The house was decorated for the wedding in palms and yellow chrysanthemums, excepting in the dining room, where red liberty roses were used.

"Following the wedding Mr. and Mrs. Garver left for Chicago, where they will spend a short time and upon their return they will be at home at 1100 Garfield Avenue."

CLARK-GAINES

As stated in the Topeka clipping, John was employed by the Santa Fe Railroad from approximately 1911 until 1914, when he became Assistant Professor of Mechanical Engineering at the University of Kansas in Lawrence.(1) While in this post from 1914 to 1918 he had achieved a reputation as an authority on engineering matters.

In July of 1918 he secured a leave of absence from the University for government service and enlisted in the navy. John was assigned to duty in the United States naval steam engineering school at Hoboken, New Jersey, and after a month's work there was commissioned lieutenant junior grade and placed at the head of an important section of the school, with a number of instructors under his direction. This was the government's main naval engineering training school and the men who graduated from it were given commissions as ensigns in the United States naval reserve force and placed in the auxiliary fleet service. The course consisted of five months training, one month at the naval training camp, at Pelham Bay Park, N.Y., five weeks at the school at Hoboken, two months practical training on shipboard and in shops near New York and a finishing course at Hoboken.(2)

It was at this time that the Topeka paper published an item, headlined, "GARVER IS MAKING GOOD" and printing his handsome picture, dressed in his navy dress whites and cap. Around the first of the year (1919) he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant, senior grade, in recognition of his excellent work.(1)

On February 11, life ended in its prime for John Garver when he died in a New York City hospital, a victim of pneumonia following an attack of the deadly wartime influenza, at the age of 32 years.(3) Word of his illness had reached Topeka the previous Saturday night and Judge T. F. Garver left immediately for New York arriving too late to see his son alive.

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1. Topeka Capitol, February 12, 1919
2. Topeka paper, undated
3. Topeka State Journal, February 11, 1919

CLARK-GAINES

After the close of the war The University of Kansas built a stadium and student union building as a permanent monument and memorial to honor the memory of 123 young men and two young women, former students, who gave their lives while in service in the world war. In the article was the photograph of John Garver in his dress uniform--the only picture in the item. The article read:

> "The names of those who died and the records of each, have been compiled by Prof. M. W. Sterling, university historian and are published in complete form for the first time by The Daily Capital. Seven Topeka names are found on the list.
>
> "The proportion of K.U. people dying in service is said to have been one of the highest for any American college. Chancellor Lindley has emphasized that those who made the supreme sacrifice would wish their memorial to be structures adding most to the life of their school.....
>
> "The stadium, designed to seat 32,000 persons, will be the great athletic battle ground of the Missouri valley."

A large majority of the deaths were due to influenza and pneumonia

His death, of course, was a tragic loss to his childless widow, his father still in bereavement from his wife's death several weeks before, and his brother and family. He was greatly loved and admired by his nephew George, who remembered the military funeral and the crossed swords making an arch leading from Franklin's home, as they removed the body after the services. He was buried beside his mother and deceased brother and sister in Gypsum Hill Cemetery in Salina, Kansas, where a naval marker is placed by his grave.

From family photographs it was evident that John was a very handsome young man, favoring his mother in appearance. His thick dark hair with a pronounced widow's peak hairline was clipped closely above his ears. His features and profile were strong and regular. His eyes and eyebrows were dark and there was a strong family resemblance to his brother Robert. His final photograph in his naval uniform, wearing

CLARK-GAINES

CLARK-GAINES)

his pince nez glasses, which were the mode of the day, showed a very handsome young man with a well groomed dark mustache.

One must feel special sympathy for John's young widow, only 29 years old, and know that, never having remarried, she must have lived a very lonely life for almost 50 years after her childhood sweetheart died. Eva, who was born on August 31, 1890, died on November 1, 1967 in a Topeka nursing home, and was buried on November 3rd in the Topek Cemetery. It is not known if she kept in close contact with Robert and Lottie, but she was thoughtful of their children, sending George a silver bowl upon the occasion of his second marriage and rememberin them both, George and Mary, in her will. A photograph showed her to be a rather heavy woman in later life with unusually beautiful hands, eyes, and skin and a serene face.

Note: In the high school production of "The Merchant of Venice Up To Date", John played the role of Shylock, a wealthy gambler. His future wife, Eva Bailey was "Portia", a rich heiress.

CLARK-GAINES)

HANS JACOB GERBER

CHRISTIAN GARVER
1720 (?) - 1798
Elizabeth _____ (3)
1757-1828

SAMUEL I
1782-1853
Margaret Emrick
1785-1854

SAMUEL II
1821-1916
Sarah Coldsmith
1820-1902

THEODORE FRANKLIN
1845-1929
Mary Diller
1845-1919

ROBERT DILLER
1878-1963
Charlotte Parkhurst
1879-1971

MARY MARGARET
1912 ----
(1) Graham Glover Campbell
1893 - 1962

GRAHAM GARVER CAMPBELL
1936 -----
Theresa Louise Loos
1940 -----

Marilee
1963 ------

Julie
1964

(2) m. Carrington Clark
1910-1977

(3) m. Jay Haydon Gaines
1915-1982

MARY MARGARET GARVER
1912 --

(Photo taken circa 1946)

Son - GRAHAM GARVER CAMPBELL
1936 --

(photo taken circa 1961)

MARY MARGARET GARVER

Birth: August 31, 1912, Topeka, Kansas (State Journal, Topeka)

Parents: Robert Diller Garver and Charlotte Parkhurst Garver

Marriages:

1. Graham Glover Campbell
   Born: May 21, 1893, Joplin, Missouri, son of Olive Dawson and Henry Campbell. (Olive Dawson - b. 9/21/1868, Iowa. d. 11/1/1962, Kansas City, Mo.)
   Married: November 9, 1935, Olathe, Kansas, by Judge Bert Rogers
   Death: February 9, 1968, Lake San Marcos, California, Cause: Emphysemia and Parkinson's Disease.
   Burial: Cremation. Remains in Ludington, Mich.

2. Carrington Clark
   Born: August 7, 1910, at Michael Reese Hospital, son of Sheldon Clark (b. 1872) and Bonnie Carrington Clark (b. 1888)
   Married: (Second Marriage) August 2, 1971, at Blair Chapel, 4th Presbyterian Church, Chicago, Illinois
   Death: April 17, 1977, Stuart, Florida. Cause: Stroke, Heart Disease.
   Burial: Rosehill Cemetery, Chicago, Illinois

3. Jay Haydon Gaines
   Born: February 18, 1915, Illinois, son of Haydon Shaw Gaines and Sarah Curran Gaines
   Married: (Second Marriage) November 4, 1979, Court House, Stuart, Florida by Judge Mark Cianca
   Death: March 22, 1982, Stuart, Florida. Cause: Injuries received in car accident on March 19.
   Burial: Cremation. Remains in Pacific Ocean.

Children: Graham Garver Cambell, born November 28, 1936.

Mary Garver was born Saturday, August 31, 1912, the second child and only daughter of Robert and Charlotte Garver, in her Parkhurst Grandparents' home at 835 Tyler Street, Topeka, Kansas. To her 7 year old brother George, quarantined because of diphtheria on the third floor with his grandmother, her birthday was celebrated by throwing dead skin over the open stairway exhibiting his dismay at "getting a baby sister instead of the pony he had wished for."

From the beginning Mary's life was influenced by her physical attractiveness. From an adored and adorable round faced pudgy baby she grew into a lovely child with long curls and large hairbows, stylish for little girls that age. In college she was voted a beauty queen at the University of Kansas. She was extremely popular and to her mother's joy, a "belle of the ball" -- being not only pretty but had a charming personality which attracted many friends, including an ever present bevy of beaus.

In reporting her being chosen as a Beauty Queen, the Kansas City Times wrote:

> "There is in Miss Garver's evident aloofness, a quality of aristocracy, which, when added to her arresting gracefulness, lends that precious characteristic poise. Miss Garver has become one of the most popular members of Kappa Alpha Theta."

This description, written on May 18, 1932, when Mary was 19 years old curiously predicted her personality as an adult -- aloof, yet warm, graceful, stylish and poised.

By her own description she refers to herself as a "rebel" with moods and an independent spirit, compared to her "well behaved" family-pleasing dimpled brother. This is probably partially believeable based on her elopement against her parent's wishes, her abandonment of the niceties of a debut, etc. Her parents tried all the subterfuges of that day to dissuade Mary from her romance with Graham Campbell, who was 19 years older than she was (the Hawaiian trip, California, Chicago) but to no avail. However, in her adulthood, she was a most devoted

daughter to her parents, especially in their ailing years after they were moved to Chicago to be near her and George. Her dedication and loving care of her mother in her final years were very commendable in addition to her undying loyalty and love for her Grandmother Parkhurst, who lived with her parents in Kansas City and with whom she spent many summers in Michigan.

Mary has a Pied Piper faculty and has always had a number of loyal women friends in her retinue and her loyalty to them is outstanding.

Newspaper clippings and programs in her mother's scrapbook tell of these events in Mary's life:

1913 -- June 8 -- Baptized in the First Presbyterian Church, Topeka, by Dr. Steven Estey

1916 -- Spent summer at Epworth Hotel, Ludington, Michigan as per Hotel Register. Article, "Mary's Flowers" written by her aunt, Mrs. John Garver, appeared in Lutheran Boys and Girls, published in Philadelphia, July 29, 1916, along with Mary's picture.

1917 -- When Mary was 5, her husband-to-be Graham Campbell went into the army as a private in World War II, on September 17 and later attended Officers Training School in France, becoming a Lieutenant. He served in Claims Section. Mrs. George Parkhurst built a cottage in Ludington, Michigan, adjacent to Epworth Heights Resort. Most subsequent summers were spent there until 1968.

1918 -- Family moved to Ft. Worth, Texas.

1920 -- Graham Campbell was discharged from the army in February and remained in the Reserve Corps.

1921 -- On October 2, Mary received a diploma from the Primary Department, First Presbyterian Church Sunday School.

1922 -- Family moved to Bartlesville, Oklahoma...May 16 -- performed in a piano recital given by Mrs. Bethel Cannon's Students at Broadway Presbyterian Church. Her number was "Pixies Sliding Down Hill," ... Won First Prize for Best Costume at "Y" Halloween Party.

1923 -- Bartlesville. Played "Valse Lucille" by Friml in Durnell-Breaseale Music Studio Recital on May 22.

1924 -- Bartlesville. On May 22 played "Russian Dance" by Friml in Durnell Breaseal Music Studio Recital.

1925 -- Family moved to 811 W. 61st Street Terrace, Kansas City, Missouri.

1927 -- Kansas City. Attended Southwest High School. May 17 inducted into National Honor Society.

1929 -- June 16 -- Graduated from Southwest High School. August -- went to Pikes Peak with Grandmother Parkhurst and Mary Lillard, childhood friend from Topeka. Fall -- entered Sweetbriar College.

1930 -- Attended Sweetbriar. Kansas City newspapers noted she was home for holidays. Spent weekend at Washington & Lee University. Lexington, Virginia.

1931 -- April 8 - Visited in Washington D.C. Graduated from Sweetbriar. Entered University of Kansas in fall and pledged Kappa Alpha Theta.

1932 -- May 18 -- Named Beauty Queen of University of Kansas. Panel of judges included Walter Winchell and Ben Bernie. (Announced in yearbook, The Jayhawker, and in Sphinx, a college publication) Mention of her dating life included Paul Harrington, a basketball star, "The Hill's Most Fascinating He" according to The Sour Owl, a humor magazine, and Ab Bowne, referred to in the school paper, as "having his trusty Mary Garver by his side." Other young men in her life included Clayton Flood and Tom Frost (Washburn Law Student), Landon Laird, Gordon Ayres, playwright, and Marshall Scott at Epworth.

1935 -- July 27 Mary's parents and Mary cruised to Hawaii where they attended an International Convention of the American Bar Association, after which Mary and her mother stayed in California where she had an occasion to meet movie star William Powell. In the fall she visited at her brother's home in Evanston, Illinois.

November 9 -- married Graham Campbell, sales manager of Morton Salt Co. in Olathe, Kansas, by Judge Rogers. (Father of Buddy Rogers, fraternity brother of George and movie star). The marriage was kept a secret until Nov. 29 when they revealed it to Mary's parents. They went on a Caribbean Cruise that winter and on December 12 traveled to Dallas.

1936 -- November 28 - Son Graham born in St. Lukes Hospital, Kansas City, Mo.

1938 -- Moved to a home at 6437 High Drive, Kansas City.

Like so many others of their generation, on March 1, 1942, Mary and Captain Graham Campbell became a part of the World War II scene and were sent to Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas, where Graham served as Assistant Mess Officer for Staff School Officers and later as a Trial Judge Advocate of General Court Martial. His base pay was $270 per month plus longevity of 23 years and $42 subsistence. Privates were paid $21 per month. Mary enjoyed the life and gayety on the base and soon became one of the originators and an important cog in the organization of "Locators", whose work was to locate service men's wives.

In February, 1943, Graham attended Counter Intelligence Corps Investigator School in Chicago. According to the Kansas City Independent, on June 16, 1943, Mary went to New York with her parents. In 1945 Graham was promoted to major in the office of Strategic Services and transferred to Washington D. C. While there they attended the re-marriage of brother George and Sue in New York and also celebrated glorious V-J Day.

In 1946, after Graham had returned to civilian life in Kansas City, he was transferred to Chicago, where they lived on Elm Street, and he was again working for the Morton Salt Company in their wholesale department. After moving to Chicago and renewing friendships with the Richard Vanderwalkers, who had temporarily lived in Kansas City, Mary became involved in charitable work for Travelers Aid Society. Mary and Graham enjoyed the social whirl of bridge, parties and the excitement of the city. Among their bridge friends were Gene and Pinkie Barrett, the latter through Mary's introduction, becoming her sister-in-law, wife of George, in 1967.

Their son Graham was the source of great pride for Mary and

Graham -- a beautiful child, always dressed like a fashion plate and later an outstanding student in Chicago Latin School and Stanford University, and a successful lawyer in his chosen field. When he was a youngster he was stricken by the polio epidemic while in a camp in Colorado, leaving one arm paralyzed. However, this tragedy did not deter or impair his progress as an outstanding person or student and he became proficient in tennis and skiing and excelled in his classes and extracurricular activities such as school theatricals and vocalizing.

In 1963 Mary's father died and for several years thereafter when Mrs. Garver's failing health permitted, Mary and Graham accompanied her mother and her nurse on extensive winter vacations. Several seasons were spent in Florida and in 1968 they wintered in California at Lake San Marcos. It was here that Graham Campbell died after a long seige of emphysema and advanced Parkinson Disease at the age of 74. Mary continued her residence at 910 Lake Shore Drive, one of the Mies Vander Rohe "glass buildings".

On August 2, 1971, Mary married Carrington Clark, an old friend of hers and Graham's who had at one time worked for Graham at the Morton Salt Co. Later he was employed by Sinclair Oil Co., where his father Sheldon Clark was an officer. Despite the fact that Carrington had health problems, their marriage was a very happy one. In June of 1974, they moved from Lake Shore Drive to a condominium at Mariner Cay in Stuart, Florida, where they enjoyed boating and the life of retirement. Carrington's family of three grown children from a former marriage became very fond of Mary and she automatically acquaired a new family. On April 17, 1977, Carrington died as a result of heart disease and a stroke.

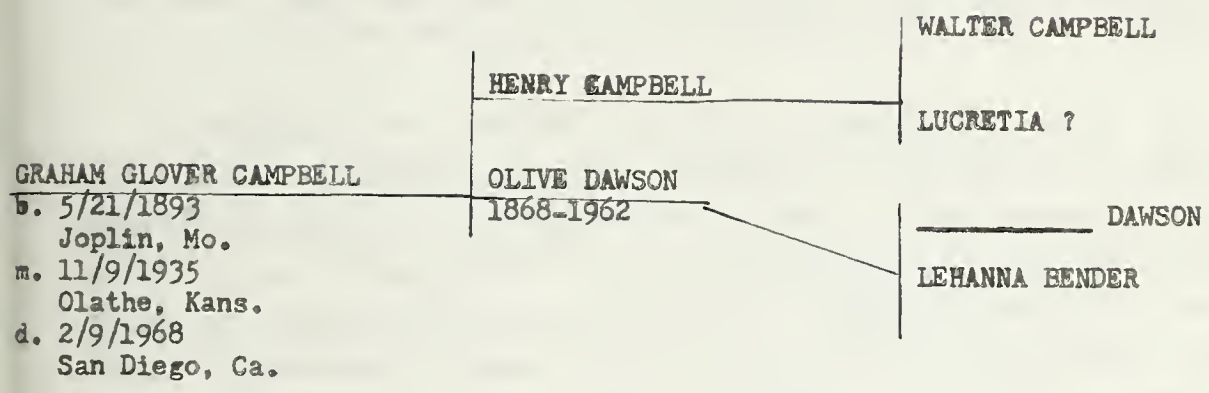
In the meantime her mother died in 1972 and her brother died in 1978. Mary accepted these losses wit h courage.

On November 4, 1979, Mary married Jay Gaines, originally

from Chicago living at that time in the Stuart, Florida area. He was an expert golfer and boatsman. Together they shared many hours engaging in these sports. Tragically, on March 29, 1982, returning home from a golf game, Jay's car left the road and he sustained multiple injuries, which resulted in his death three days later. Mary's many friends felt great sympathy for her after burying three husbands, her parents and brother.

But, true to her past pattern, Mary continued to efficiently control her life despite her losses. Her son and his wife and their two daughters visit her annually; she continues with her golf; travels each year (including European trip, several winter cruises, etc.). She accepts setbacks and broken bones with a casualness and a positive attitude.....
(Written in 1986)

GRAHAM GLOVER CAMPBELL LINEAGE



GRAHAM GARVER CAMPBELL

Birth: November 29, 1936, Kansas City, Mo., St. Lukes Hospital
Parents: Graham Glover Campbell and Mary Margaret Garver Campbell
Marriage: Theresa Louise Loos, Palo Alto, Ca., June 22, 1961
Children: Marilee Campbell, born January 15, 1963, San Francisco, Ca.
Julie Campbell, born July 31, 1964, San Francisco, Ca.

Graham Garver Campbell was born November 28, 1936, the only child of Graham and Mary Campbell, in Kansas City, Missouri. He and his cousin Robert Garver, son of George Garver, were the only descendants of the Franklin/Robert Garver family tree, so it was fitting that the two, although there was two years difference in ages, were very close from the time of their early childhood to their present manhood. Family home movies show the two playing happily together, sharing the family holidays and summer vacations at their Great Grandmother Parkhust Cottage in Ludington, Michigan. The family had very close ties, much of their attention being centered upon the two little boys who later in life made them very proud with their talents and success in life.

Graham and his parents moved to Chicago from Kansas City in 1946 and Graham attended Chicago Latin School until his graduation in 1954. While there he was a charter member of the Cum Laude Society. Besides being an exceptional student, he participated in theatrical productions, sang and wrote poetry. A sample of his high school poetry is included at the end of his biography -- quite ironical in view of his adult aversion to the practice of smoking. In a letter written to his grandmother he modestly tells of being presented an award as the Outstanding Junior Student at Chicago Latin School by a representative from Harvard College, which assured him entrance into that school upon graduation.

However, the brilliant young man attended Stanford University from 1954-58, receiving his Bachelor of Arts in Social Sciences, graduating with honors. He attended Stanford Law School from 1958 to 1961, was a member of the Law Review Staff and ranked 12th in the class.

During several summer vacations, he worked in the Chicago offices of Natural Gas Pipeline Co., of which his uncle George was president, and was offered a permanent position. Upon graduation he was employed in the law firm of Thelen, Marrin, Johnson and Bridges in San Francisco as an Associate Attorney from 1962-1969. At that time he decided he did not care for the practice of law in a legal firm and became Staff Attorney for Justice Louis H. Burke from 1969-1974. In 1974 he became associated with Justice Frank K. Richardson, with whom he is presently (1986) associated -- continuing the four generation tradition of legal vocations in the Garver family -- Franklin, Robert, and George.

On June 22, 1961, in Palo Alto, California, he married Theresa Louise Loos, whom he had met while she was also a student at Stanford University. "Terry" was born October 2, 1940, in Chicago, Illinois, daughter of Charles Forest Loos and Lee Stevens Loos. In 1950 the family moved to Santa Monica. California. She attended Chicago and Santa Monica Public Schools from 1945 to 1958, always being a top student and leader. She was the editor of the high school newspaper, which had an "All American" rating, a member of the California Scholarship Federation and winner of the American Legion Achievement Award. Terry attended Stanford University from 1958 to 1961, and the University of California at Berkeley from 1961 to 1962, majoring in Philosphy and earning a place on the Deans List. From 1964 to 1980 she continued her Art and Art History Education, attending the College of Marin.

Terry is a very artistic, talented lady and was Art History teacher in Marin County Elementary Schools from 1975-1983. She

is very proficient as a potter doing ceramic pins, jars and sculpture (1976-1983). She has received Art Show Awards in the Marin Arts Guild Container Show, Marin Scoeity of Artists Craft Show and Larkspur Artists Invitational Show.

Graham and Terry have lived in the Sausalito area outside of San Francisco, in Mill Valley, and at 32 Yale Avenue, Larkspur, California. During this time Terry has been active in community affairs. She was Chairman of the Larkspur Park and Recreation Commission who developed the masterplan for city parks and instituted the first fee recreation/education program in the city (1973-1976). She was Campfire Girls Leader and Day Camp Director from 1973 to 1976, a seminar leader at the California Art Education Association Conference, PTA President in 1970, receiving a PTA Honorary Service Award. Never to be idle, Terry is in the process (1983) of organizing an art gallery tour business in conjunction with visiting conventions in San Francisco.

Their family consists of two very attractive daughters, Marilee, born January 15, 1963, and Julie, born July 31, 1964. As of the present writing (1986) neither of the girls are married and are living in Los Angeles. Marilee attended the University of California at Los Angeles, majoring in psychology and is talented musically. Julie attended ChicoState University and is an artist and "fun lover" (according to her mother.)

Graham's organized activities include President of Larkspur-Corte Madera Tennis League (1980-81), a member of the Do-Re-Mi Musical Society, and the Supreme Court Poker League. His hobbies include tennis, skiing, singing, chess, and travel, including many ski trips to Lake Tahoe. In writing of his activities Graham also mentioned another member of their family: (Simon (Sime-boy) Campbell, a Siamese cat.)

Note: This information was received in 1983 and undoubtedly much more has happened to this very active vibrant brilliant family since then. The author trusts that they will continue their story in this Biography.

ODE TO A CIGARETTE

Stern Offspring from the loins of Earth;
O Weed! Thy name enchants my soul;
Thy smoke of humble Indian birth
Doth rise to seek a noble goal,
Rise God-ward like the dreams of man,
Imbued with one specific plan-
To form a silvery silken cloud,
So like the purity with which thou art endowed.

When first I place Thee to my lips,
And breathed Thy burning, biting fume,
I coughed and singed my fingertips,
and cursing, hurled Thee from my room;
My youthful tastes could not foresee
The happiness awaiting me,
The inhalations fresh and keen,
The breathless freshness from the kiss of nicotine.

The years flew by with winged haste,
And soon I realized the truth-
My smokeless years were but a waste
Which typifies a fruitless youth.
When I had but eleven years,
And liquor brought my eyes to tears,
I still could drive my cares away,
By smoking secretly, a half-a-pack a day.

My intake grew with lusty speed;
Thy charm had won my soul, I think,
I spent my silver for Thy weed,
And quite ignored both food and drink.
I smoked Thee every time I snacked
To settle my disgestive tract;
A careful survey would reveal
I had consumed near ten between each dainty meal.

To prove my love and faith defend,
I tried Thy honored self to please,
To breathe Thee to Thy bitter end
or blow a smoke ring in a breeze.
O pardon please my failure sad,
I fear that I impatience had;
The breeze devoured each smoky wreathe,
and soon Thy bitter end had yellowed all my teeth.

Thus have I set my thoughts to rhyme,
To show how I adore Thy habit;
My love for Thee still grows with time,
It multiplieth like the rabbit,
And turns my many wayward doubts into a sturdy faith sublime.

PARKHURST

A SONNET ON LOVE

Man tries in love to find eternal bliss,
Derived directly from his anxious heart;
He finds it in the sweetness of a kiss,
And in a vow of pure love from the start.

But man can find a stronger, lasting love,
A kind of love which sets a greater goal;
For in the spacious heavens far above
A faith in God can rule the human soul.

If man through prayer obtains a peaceful mind,
Within this tired and highly troubled land;
A newer, fuller outlook he will find,
A pious life, led by His holy hand.
For if he lifts his face to God on high,
His faith will turn to love as time goes by.

Graham Campbell

(Published in Feb. 1953 issue
of Chicago Latin School News)

PARKHURST

THERESA LOUISE LOOS LINEAGE

Parents

CHARLES F. LOOS
b. 10/17/1899
Baraboo, Wis.
m. 6/29/1925
d. 5/15/1982
Gardena, CA.

CHARLES A. LOOS
b. 8/19/1860
Greenfield, Wis.
d. 4/1946

TILLIE ULDRICKSON
b. 6/5/1861
Wisc. Dells, Wis.
d. 5/1959
St. Petersburg. Fla.

CHARLES ANDREW LOOS
1832-1918
Germany

PHOEBE OSWALD

NELSE ULDRICKSON
Norway

URICKA GREGORSON
1826-1917

LEE ANDRIA STEPHENS
b. 11/18/1900
Beatrice, Nebr.

WILLIAM LOGAN STEPHENS
b. 1865
Toledo, Ohio
d. 1941
Long Beach, CA.

VEDA SHATTER
b. 3/20/1870
Missouri
d. 1944
Long Beach, CA.

ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS
1840-1910
Pennyslvania-Nebraska

MARY LEONARD
d. 1870

ANDREW SHATTER
1842-1922

ANGIE COLIER
1846-1922
New York-Long Beach, CA

PARKHURST

GRAHAM GLOVER CAMPBELL LINEAGE

GRAHAM GLOVER CAMPBELL
b. 5/21/1893
Joplin, Mo.
m. 11/9/1935
Olathe, Kans.
d. 2/9/1968
San Diego, Ca.

- HENRY CAMPBELL
  - WALTER CAMPBELL
  - LUCRETIA ?
- OLIVE DAWSON
  1868-1962
  - ? DAWSON
  - LEHANNA BENDER

PARKHURST

PARKHURST

HANS JACOB GERBER

CHRISTIAN GARVER
1720 (?) - 1798
Elizabeth _____ (3)
1757-1828

SAMUEL I
1782-1853
Margaret Emrick
1785-1854

SAMUEL II
1821-1916
Sarah Coldsmith
1820-1902

THEODORE FRANKLIN
1845-1929
Mary Diller
1845-1919

ROBERT DILLER
1878-1963
Charlotte Parkhurst
1879-1971

GEORGE PARKHURST GARVER
1905 - 1978

(1) Susan Gillespie Wright
1906-1965

ROBERT WRIGHT GARVER
1933 -------

(2) L. Catherine Kryger Barrett
1917 ------

FABIAN BACHRACH

GEORGE PARKHURST GARVER
1905 -- 1978

GEORGE PARKHURST GARVER

Birth: November 30, 1905, Topeka, Kansas (Thanksgiving Day)

Parents: Robert Diller and Charlotte Parkhurst Garver

Marriages: 1. Susan (Sue) Gillespie Wright
June 24, 1931 - 2nd Presbyterian Church, Kansas City, Mo.
Divorce: May 16, 1941
Remarriage: June 15, 1945

2. L. Catherine Kryger Barrett (Pinkie)
April 22, 1967, Fourth Presbyterian Church, Chicago, Ill.

Children: Robert Wright Garver

Death: November 24, 1978, Wesley Memorial Hospital, Chicago, Ill.

Burial: Memorial Park Mausoleum, Skokie, Ill.

George Parkhurst Garver was born November 30, 1905, the only son of Robert Diller and Charlotte Parkhurst Garver, in his grandparents impressive home at 835 Tyler Street, Topeka, Kansas, two blocks down a shaded street from the Kansas State Capitol.

On that day in 1905 two of the most popular songs were "In My Merry Oldsmobile" and "Glow, Little Glow Worm." Theodore Roosevelt was President, after filling out the McKinley term. Cupids, bows, flowers, with a French influence, were the popular decor of the year. The social legislation of the day concerned child labor and meat packing factory conditions. Headlines and articles in the New York Tribune that day were: "MUTINEERS LOSE IN BATTLE-Troops Loyal to Czar-Whole Fleet Reported to Have Surrendered;" "TELEGRAPHERS STRIKE! No News from St. Petersburg"(Russia); "REVOLT NEAR WARSAW--The artillery-men at Remberton Camp demanded the dismissal of obnoxious sergeants, better food and higher pay. The commander....explained he had to communicate with St. Petersburg in regard to increase of pay.";

"FATHER GAPON CHANGES VIEWS--Mistake to Preach Armed Rebellion-Peasants Want Emperor".

Childhood

From the day of his birth George was the center of attention in the matriarchal household, dominated by his grandmother Parkhurst. Mrs. Parkhurst, his grandmother, was a concert singer who gave vocal lessons on the third floor of the spacious home in the Music Room. George's mother was an extremely talented organist and pianist, who accompanied her mother and together they regularly presented musicales and programs in their home. George, who apparently had no musical talent, took piano lessons from his Aunt Ellen Parkhurst, his grandfather's sister. He remembered that there was always music in their home.

Therefore, with all this musical activity being carried on by the ladies of the household, plus maintaining their elevated social position in the society life of Topeka, it wasn't suprising that his fondest childhood memories were focused on his Grandfather Parkhurst, who had retired from the wholesale grocery business and spent hours with his beloved namesake.

George recalled that "Grandpa" always carried candy in his pocket. Many times he took him on the streetcar to Garfield Park, an amusement park. George invariably got car sick enroute, which must have been an event his grandfather looked forward to with great anticipation each week. It was "Grandpa" who let him puff on his first cigar.

George proudly said that his grandfather would "give his last buck to someone on the street--the most generous man I ever knew. In fact, one of his failings was that he was an 'easy touch.'" George loved to remininisce about how he and his grandfather, and sometimes his parents, slept on an open sleeping porch year round. And when he told about how they awakened to find their beds covered with snow--

the gleam in his eye was comparable to when he discussed his favorite Martini.

A less pleasant memory for him was his appearance in the production, "The House That Jack Built", which was produced by the Ladies' Aid Society of the First Presbyterian Church in the Grand Opera House on October 11 and 12, 1912. George made his theatrical debut as Little Tommy Tucker. As a typical little boy of seven, he didn't want to play this role and hated his costume of frills and feathers and the wig of curls he had to wear. However, he apparently was a most obedient little boy and didn't have a vote in whether he would participate.

Another yellowed clipping in the family scrapbook tells of the production of "The Sleeping Beauty" which was performed at the Grand Theater. It was enacted in pantomime by some fifty prominent Topeka girls and young women, staged by the First Presbyterian Church. "There were no men in the pantomime, excepting two quite young men, Master George Garver and Master Billy Dillon, two cute youngsters who wore white satin and carried the queen's train."

According to his mother's photograph album he also appeared as Little Lord Fauntleroy on Christmas Eve in 1915.

As a baby, his nurse called him her "peach cobbler," and others employed in the house were Della, who had epileptic fits (probably most memorable to a little boy) and was released because of her condition and two Swedish sisters, one a cook, the other the housemaid.

His best friends were: John Dillon, who lived in the neighborhood near the Capitol (in 1978 this home was occupied by an insurance company and the spacious Parkhurst home razed for a parking lot.) Ernie Gibble, who lived across the street and when grown married Sally Lillard; and Tom Crosby, whose family owned the Crosby Department Store and a chain of grocery stores. On Saturday morning, George went with the boys to the "Children's Picture Show" at the Orpheum. On Saturday afternoon, his grandfather took him to the vaudeville theater.

The Billiard Room was undoubtedly a favorite haunt of the neighborhood boys when they got older. Among the family pictures, is a backyard photo of the boys seated in front of a pup tent, wearing their Boy Scout uniforms. Another photo shows the Baseball Team at Harrison School, of which George was a member.

In the summer, the group swam in the Kansas River and rode their bicycles all over town. In the winter he would trudge down the street, pulling his wooden sled behind him in preparation of the slide down the ice and snow covered steps on the north side of the Capitol--down the steps at breakneck speed and across the street. The traffic in those days was no problem, of course. He also had wonderful winter memories of playing ice hockey on Polk Street with a tin can and a hockey stick, he had made.

George remembered knitting squares during World War I. The War also had tragic memories for him when his beloved uncle John, who was a naval officer and George's idol, died of the influenza in 1919. George recalled the military funeral and the crossed swords forming an arch for the casket as they left his grandparents' home. At the end of the War, George joined the hilarious procession riding on the front fender of a car.

Christmases in the big house were treasured memories--how the large Christmas tree was placed in the Billiard Room, lighted by real candles and how one Christmas Eve the tree caught fire and subsequently gutted the whole top floor.

His first serious illness was when he was seven and had scarlet fever--a common childhood disease in 1912. He and his grandmother were quarantined on the third floor of their Topeka home and undoubtedly the pink sign was nailed to their door, telling outsiders that the occupants had scarlet fever. On the second floor on August 31st a major event was taking place--his mother was giving birth to a baby girl, Mary Margaret. George told how he had prayed for a pony and

with disappointment got a baby sister instead. He remembered how he stood on the open stairway and dropped his peeling skin to the first floor--a rather revolting thought but one for some reason he delighted in recalling. He also told of a serious bout with pneumonia--probably during the World War I days, when influenza took on epidemic proportions. He remembered his mother going around with tears in her eyes and the nurses giving him alcohol rubs (the only known method to reduce fever in those days).

His sister's childhood memories present George as the "pet"--always smiling--his dimples appealing--and always doing the right thing. George's recollections don't quite agree with the latter description, having joined in Halloween antics that boys of that era engaged in--overturning outhouses, lowering telephone lines, soaping windows, etc.

When his family paid their weekly Sunday visit to his Grandparents Garver, he was delegated to the library to play with an old toy iron train and blocks. His recollection was that the room was filled with pictures, many books and the rifle and sabre from the Battle of Gettysburg looked down on him from above the fireplace mantle.

His schooling was in Harrison Grade School, Clay Junior High School and the Topeka High School for two months before he moved to Ft. Worth. The schools then were racially integrated so it did not seem strange to have negro children in the classrooms, although there was no fraternization.

His grandmother, who lived in a very elite manner, had one of the first electric cars in Topeka, with its little vases filled with artificial flowers placed on either side of the interior. No doubt George had his chance at operating this amazing machine at a young age as there were no age limitations on driving.

In addition, the family had a fashionable Buick Sedan touring car with its trunk, filled with much used tools, resting on the running board. The Ising Glass storm windows were frantically snapped into place when an unexpected storm blew up. When George was 16 he drove his grandparents to their summer cottage in Ludington, Michigan, in this car. It took five or six days on clay or sandy roads, filled with ruts. The route took them to Omaha and across Iowa, where they stayed in hotels enroute. Each day was beset with numerous punctures, which were fixed by George as "Grandpa was not mechanical." One had to watch out for the soft clay shoulders as cars often slid into the side ditches.

Some times the family would drive to Chicago and take a lake car ferry from there to Ludington. Later they took the ferry from Milwaukee. These trips were filled with happy anticipation for a wonderful summer at the Epworth Heights resort, originally founded as a Methodist campsite with the expected restrictions on Sunday activities and drinking. From 1907 until 1919, the family either stayed in the Epworth Hotel (as verified by the old Hotel Register) or rented cottages on the north beach. In 1919 Mrs. Parkhurst built Recreation Cottage, with its five bedrooms, outside the Epworth grounds and on the white sand beach of Lake Michigan, evidently wanting to own the land, which was not possible at Epworth.

Many Topeka families also had discovered this happy Michigan retreat so George had friends there and soon made new friends from Little Rock, Ark., St. Louis, Mo., and Kansas City. He loved to play golf with his grandfather on the Epworth course and Epworth residents today (1983) remember George as a young boy because of his motor boat which he propelled around Lincoln Lake and out the channel on a calm day on Lake Michigan. Others remembered George, the young adult, in later years because of his pretty sister. (In 1952, because of shore

erosion George had to arrange for its removal from the beach to a lot a block away at 1008 Juanita Street, (later 7282 W. Juanita Ave.)

In Topeka, George attended the Presbyterian church every Sunday, first to Sunday School and stayed for a service afterwards, where the whole family sat in the Garver Pew, except for his grandmother Parkhurst who sang in the choir and his mother who played the organ. Their pastor, Dr. Estee, was also a close family friend who spent several summer vacations at the Michigan cottage.

George grew up in a home where the use of liquor was frowned upon by the ladies. The rigid and strict rules concerning alcoholic beverages applied to the cottage too, although in later life, George, his father, and sister circumvented the rules by surreptiously holding their cocktail hours in the second floor bedroom. They suspected their grandmother and mother probably knew of this activity but would never sanction it or even dignify it by admission of its presence.

In rating his emotions, George said: "I was close to my father, closer to my mother, but closest to Grandpa." Throughout his life he was a most devoted son. In 1962 his mother wrote, "George is so good. I adore him."(1)

In January, 1919, his Grandmother Garver died and Robert moved his family to Franklin Garver's home on 715 Harrison Street. Shortly after that on September 15, 1919, George's father resigned as District Judge and accepted a position as Chief Counsel in the legal department of the Ft. Worth offices of the Empire Gas & Fuel Company.

Texas - Oklahoma - Washburn College

George was 14 years old when they moved to Fort Worth, where the family quickly became established in the social life of the city because of Robert's position and his mother's musical talents. While

1. Note: Despite his admiration for his Grandfather Parkhurst, the author is of the opinion that George, the adult, was a Garver in character and personality.

in Central High school, George was riding on the running board of a Model T Ford, stumbled and the car ran over his left foot, necessitating the amputation of his small toe. This was a source of comment in later life as he walked the beaches of Florida and Michigan and left his singular footprint in the sand.

In 1922 his father's career took the family to 115 Keeler Street in Bartlesville, Oklahoma, although George spent little time there. Apparently the family felt the Ft. Worth Schools were so superior to Bartlesville's that the latter had no curriculum to offer George. Therefore, it was decided to send him to Washburn College in Topeka, for a combined course of high school senior year and first year of college. While attending the college where his grandfather Garver had taught law courses and his grandmother Parkhurst, music, he lived in the "back room" of the Parkhurst home.

While a student at Washburn, he pledged Kappa Sigma fraternity but was not initiated.

At this time Prohibition was at its peak and a major interest of the young fun loving college set. George told about one evening he was with some upper-classmen on an excursion to the local bootlegger. He was the one chosen to go to the door and the upshot was that he was greeted by a "giant" of a black man, who scared the 17 year old practically to the point of turning on heel and fleeing. He gruffly asked George his name and when he naively confessed to his identity, the bootlegger said, "Oh yes, I know Judge Garver--he sent me to prison.! But he was fair and I deserved it, so I will sell you the gin." This little anecdote depicts the times, the standing of Judge Garver in the community and the role of the bootlegger.

University of Kansas

After a year at Washburn University George transferred to Kansas University at Lawrence in 1923, where he joined Phi Kappa Psi, the

national fraternity of his father, grandfather and a number of other Garvers. He lived in the fraternity house where he made a number of lifelong friends. Among them was his roommate, Buddy Rogers, of Olathe, Kansas, and later a movie star and husband of Mary Pickford. Buddy's father was a Justice of Peace and subsequently married George's sister Mary and Graham Campbell. On several vacations, Buddy visited at the Garver home. Another friend, Muir Rogers, of Kansas City, was a tennis star and later moved to Chicago where they were close friends. Jack Frost, of Kansas City, also a fraternity brother, was George's best man at his wedding, while Robert Belisle and Verne Wilkins were close Kansas City friends.

On February 20, 1926, the Kansas Alpha chapter of Phi Kappa Psi celebrated the fiftieth annual Founders' Day ceremonies of the fraternity. George gave the Address of Welcome to the chapter and more than seventy alumni in attendance. Also on the program was his grandfather, T. F. Garver, who spoke on the subject of "Phi Psi in '67".[1] This had to be a proud moment for the two fraternity brothers.

In 1926 in a contest conducted by the college humor magazine, Sour Owl, George was voted the "Handsomest Man on the Hill" by the coeds. The news services carried his picture and the story all over the country. His scrapbook shows clippings from Johnstown, Pennsylvania, Chillicothe, Ohio, Pawhuska, Oklahoma, etc.--an indication of the amount of newsworthy articles in that age. His college years occurred at the height of the Roaring Twenties and Flapper Age, a wonderful, wild, carefree time. Money was plentiful and those who were affluent and young lived in a grand careless style.

The "fame" resulting from the election humorously deprived George of a certain amount of privacy as noted by an Associated Press Release on January 28. The headline was "K.U."s ADONIS IS FINED. Beauty is No Defense for Young Motorist in Police Court." The article further

1. Program for Semi-Centennial Celebration, 2/20/1926 and Newspaper article in Kansas City paper.

stated that George Garver had been fined $3 in police court for parking his car without lights.

While he was in college he was a member of the Dramatic Club and participated in a number of productions. On April 15, 1924, George played the part of Harry Larkcom in the play, "The Passing of the Third Floor Back" (An Idle Fancy). In The Epilogue he played the part of an "Entertaining Party." Other characters were: An Old Bachelor, Two Lovers, A Jew, An Important Person, etc. A newspaper clipping noted that this was the annual play of the dramatic club which was taken on the road for a tour of Kansas towns. A critic in one of these towns wrote that George was a "delightful entertainer." Another wrote, "George Garver, a cad with a checkered suit, put a likeable interpretation on the part. His action was good and his lines well read."

Another production the Dramatic Club presented was a 16 scene revue, "Cherchez la Femme" or "Kansas Grows the Best Wheat in the World." George appeared as M. Popoff in the skit, "Forward and Back". In the Second act he took part in the historical pageant, "Kansas", as an Indian.

A Kansas City rotogravure section had a picture of George in connection with being voted the most handsome male student in school. It told how Buddy Rogers had been discovered by the powers that be in the Paramount-Lasky Corporation and after the screening tests was sent to the Paramount School in New York for instruction....The article continued:

> "Now, Kansas City has the distinction of being the home of Kansas University's handsomest man. George Garver, son of Judge and Mrs. Robert D. Garver, recently was voted the "Adonis" of Mount Oread. Tall and slender with wavy dark hair, sparkling brown eyes and clear, ruddy complexion, George is a most fascinating chap and deserving of his title "on the hill." A close friend of Buddy Rogers, George is a

> member of the Phi Psi fraternity and a student in the School of Law. Extreme modesty is one of his chief attractions. Not so long ago he was urged by Paramount to have a photograph made to learn whether his type screened well. It seems almost assured that the young Kansas Citian will soon be launched in the cinema world and before long his face will be a familiar one to devotees of moving picture lure, the world over and with an air of pride middle westerners will say "we knew him when."

In retrospect this article is very humorous because George Garver would never have chosen this type of career and lifestyle. He was much too conservative, modest, and basically shy to have exposed himself to that world, regardless of his collegiate facade.

During one summer vacation he earned money by working for the Pawhuska Oil and Gas Company, Pawhuska, Oklahoma. This was his first attempt at money-making and he apparently did his job well. He was, however, quite shocked and disillusioned by the behavior of the Indians in that territory. On September 22, 1924, his employer, A. J. Nagel, wrote this letter to George's father:

> "....We all hated to see him go and hope we may have him with us again next year. His pleasing ways and manners I am sure did our boys lots of good. George is undoubtedly the best boy of his age I ever had the opportunity of knowing. Also where ever we placed him he fit in like a veteran. He also met up with the best boys and girls in town and I am sure his stay here was beneficial to himself. His behavior was excellent and you need not ever fear for his conduct."

A newspaper clipping wrote that a Jesse Tippett would be leaving on his vacation and that George Garver would be transferred to the office of the company as his replacement. Other times he worked in the field.

The Gas Service paper wrote on another occasion that he had "returned for another couple of weeks with us before starting back to school. George came back from his Estes Park outing with all

that could be hoped--A wonderful tan, a choice selection of snapshots and the happiest of moods, which spoke volumes of beautiful scenery, pleasant companions and healthy living." So, it might be assumed that he also worked for the Gas Service Company in Kansas City during several summers. This was probably after 1925 when his father had been transferred to Kansas City.

George was also a member of Phi Delta Phi, a legal fraternity, during his undergraduate years at Kansas University. In his memorabilia is a program of a dinner given April 22, 1926, in honor of the senior members and alumni of Phi Delta Phi, and Professor Raymond F. Rice, who was leaving Kansas University Law School faculty after teaching there from 1913 to 1927. Fourteen seniors, including George, were listed in the Roll of Members.

University of Michigan Law School

After his graduation from Kansas University on June 5, 1926, with a B.A. degree in economics, he attended Law School at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. George didn't reminisce much about this period of his life. Reference was made of going with his classmates to Windsor, Canada, where they imbibed in champagne, but, of course, there had to be many serious study times to graduate from the law school of this fine institution.

While there he was elected Vice-President of the Lawyers Club. In April of 1928, George served as chairman of the Founder's Day Committee held at the Lawyer's Club. This was an annual affair in which members of various legal clubs argued a case and were judged by various judges on their abilities and merits. In 1928 Silas Strawn, noted Chicago lawyer and president of the American Bar Association was one of the judges. At this event, ornamental watch fobs were presented to graduating Law Students who had been in residence at the Lawyers's Club for at least two years. This watch fob was found among George's effects.

The Dean of Law School, Henry M. Bates, wrote the following in a letter of June 19, 1928: "Mr. Garver has made a good record as a student and impressed us as a man of good character and industrious habits. I believe that he will succeed as a lawyer."

An amusing fad took place on the Ann Arbor Campus in the spring of 1927, the season for collegiate shenanigans. It all began as a student protest to a threat of the faculty to abolish the right of undergraduates to operate automobiles. (Ironically, 40 miles west of the automobile capital of the World.) Every able-bodied student, including coeds, enlisted in a movement in which roller skates, horse drawn buggies, and tandem bicycles came back into their own. The United Press article of May 9, 1927, describes the scene:

> "Original relief of the faculty at the soundness of student ways", however, ultimately turned to despair when the concrete walks and streets which course through the campus proved so attractive that scores of undergraduates roared to and fro even into the wee small hours.
>
> "The fads have spread to all branches of the university, so that otherwise dignified students of law roll to their Blacksonian studies, park their skates in the hall, and on release roll back to their quarters.
>
> "While the bicycle is the least popular of the three, the horse and buggy have taken second place to roller skates. Sunny spring afternoons this year are witnessing undergraduate couples and quartets smilingly guiding a clattering mare hitched to a weaving, swaying buggy.
>
> "Ann Arbor, 1927, will live in student memory as Anno skates, buggies and bikes."

Business Career

Upon graduation, with an LLB. degree from the University of Michigan Law School on June 18, 1928, George was admitted to the bar in the State of Missouri and was employed by the law firm of Shughart

and Johnson, working for Charles Miller. In 1931, he joined the legal department of Continental Construction Corporation, a forerunner of Natural Gas Pipeline Company of America. At that time the historic 1000-mile long pipeline was being built from Texas to Chicago and Continental's office was in Kansas City. Shortly afterwards the corporation, affiliated with Cities Service Company, located in Chicago and assumed its present name. On the evening of the day the Kansas City office was closed, George married Sue Wright. The wedding and their personal life will be discussed in a later segment of his biography.

George's career seemed to be as charmed as the other facets of his life. He started in as a young lawyer in the legal department of Natural Gas Pipeline Co. of America, served as Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer, Director and ended up as its President and Vice-Chairman of the parent company, Peoples Gas Light and Coke Company.

During his stint in Wisconsin from 1939 to 1942, living at the Knickerbocker Hotel in Milwaukee, George served as Vice-President of the company and manager of their Wisconsin Division. His purpose there was to gain allowance and acceptance of the pipeline into the state. His duties included heavy confrontations with the AFL Coke and Gas Workers Union, women's groups, the Milwaukee Mayor Advisory Council, the Public Service Commission, Highway Commission, etc. but his efforts were successful.

It is true that his business life was without setbacks. However, it must be noted that from the onset, like his father, George was intensely serious about his work and tirelessly spent many extra hours each week, devoting much of his leisure time to his job, even to the point of perhaps partially sacrificing his personal life and avocations to the company. He had no hobbies except gardening and

indulged in no form of recreational exercise. He was an intelligent man, with good judgment, fairness, a strong business drive and purpose. His career made many demands on him, including a schedule of constant travel, but he responded willingly. This does not mean to imply that he was a dullard, because he was fun loving and when he relaxed, he played as hard as he worked.

George was highly respected and deeply loved by his employees and peers, and was without a trace of ruthlessness in his character. Although in some ways an aloof person in his office dealings, he strongly believed in the Open Door Policy to all of his employees. Among his memorabilia were hundreds of clippings, attesting to his importance in his field.

While mentioning his work, one person who cannot be overlooked is Miss Lois Bonkowski, secretary to George for many years. Her loyalty, efficiency, and personal friendship were a most helpful and essential factor in his carrying out his executive duties.

His rise and progress in the company evolved as follows;

1928 - Kansas City, Mo. Law Firm
1930 - Kansas City, Mo. Legal Dept. of Continental Construction Co.
1931 - Chicago. Legal Dept. Natural Gas Pipeline Co. of America
1939 - Milwaukee. Vice-President, Natural Gas Pipeline Co. and Manager of Wisconsin Division
1942 - Enlisted in United States Navy Reserve (Special Section on this)
1945 - Chicago. Returned to Natural Gas Pipeline Company
1946 - Secretary-Treasurer, Natural Gas Pipeline Co. and Texhoma Natural Gas Co. (1) (Subsidiaries of Peoples Gas)
1948 - Vice-President, Secretary-Treasurer, Member Board of Directors
1957 - President, Natural Gas Pipeline Co. and Texas Illinois Natural Gas Pipeline Co. (These companies were later merged)
1963 - President, Independent Natural Gas Assoc. of America (INGAA)
1964 - Member Natural Gas Advisory Council, Federal Power Commission
1967 - Member, National Petroleum Council
1969 - Vice-Chairman, NGPL and Vice-Chairman, Peoples Gas
1970 - Retired November 30
1971 - 3 months, Consultant, Federal Power Commission, Wash. D. C.

1. Gas Service, Kansas City, July 15, 1946. Vol. 21, No. 22.

George not only occupied a place of importance in his own company, but was recognized as an authority and giant in the entire natural gas pipeline industry. Attesting to this was his participation in the Independent Natural Gas Association of America, which he served as Vice-President and on September 17, 1963, was elected President of this 2,300 member trade association. The fellow company presidents in INGAA were George's "kind of people" and he loved, enjoyed, and understood his association with them, including William Elmer, Kentucky, William Straus and Sam Whiteman, Nebraska, Clyde McGraw and Baxter Goodrich, Texas, Jack Bowen, Florida, John Shaw, Alabama, King Sanders, Texas, and probably most of all, Walter Rogers, ex-Congressman from Texas and later President of INGAA. There were, of course, others not mentioned and the hundreds of letters received after George's death from his friends extolled his excellence and humanity and expressed the love they too felt for him.

He was often called upon to give major speeches at various association conventions. Among these were:

On September 14, 1964, he addressed the Texas Independent Producers and Royalty Owners Association's (TIPRO) 18th Annual Convention in Ft. Worth. On March 25, 1963, George spoke to the midwest Gas Association Convention.

On April 27, 1964, he addressed the Gas Pipeline Forum of the Financial Analysts Federation in the Shamrock Hotel, Houston, Texas, with regard to areas of legislation and regulation of natural gas pipelines. Plus many more mentioned in his scrapbook of clippings.

In 1964 George was appointed by the Federal Power Commission to serve for two years on the Natural Gas Advisory Council. The Council, composed of 14 members, was established in 1962, for an initial two year period, later, increased by two more years. The Council provided the Federal Power Commission with informed opinions of a representative group of current matters of interest.[1] It might be

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1. Post Washington Bureau article, Houston Post

mentioned that there was a constant battle being waged between the Federal Power Commission and the pipeline companies and George and the other presidents were constantly being called to Washington to testify on one matter or another.

On July 1, 1967, he was appointed by the Department of Interior to serve for two years on the National Petroleum Council.(1)

Other organizations, social and business, George belonged to were: American Gas Association, Skokie Country Club, Chicago Club, on which Board of Directors he served from 1958-1962, Executive Club, Texas Mid-Continent Oil and Gas Association, Illinois and Chicago Chambers of Commerce, Lincoln Hills Golf Club, Ludington, Michigan. He was listed in Who's Who.

In 1967 George accepted the Area Chairmanship for the central United States for the 3 year Program for Press campaign, a capital fund raising drive for the University of Kansas, headed by his friend Stanley Learned, executive officer of Phillips Petroleum Co., Bartlesville, Oklahoma. He devoted much time and numerous trips in the company private Sabre jet plane to this effort with considerable success.

When in Wisconsin George served as deputy state tire administrator on the Tire Rationing Board, which issued new tire certificates.(2) According to the rules, 983 tires per month, the Milwaukee allotment, would go to physicians, surgeons, visiting nurses, ambulances, firemen, policemen, etc.--not enough, of course.(3) Doctors were advised to drive their wives' cars and drug stores limited hours of delivery--all part of the war time effort.(4)

Retirement

After 40 years of service, on November 30, 1970, George retired as part of the company's compulsory retirement plan. While mentally and physically George was not ready for retirement, he accepted it

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1. Scroll
2. Milwaukee Sentinel, January 4, 1942
3. Milwaukee Journal, January 4, 1942
4. Milwaukee Journal, January 21, 1942

with grace and never once looked over the shoulder of his successor and friend, Cliff Davis, who frequently advised George of progress being made by the company.

Shortly after his retirement, he agreed to spend three months in Washington, D. C., as Consultant to the Federal Power Commission. His main concern there was natural gas shortage surveys and solutions. He did not enjoy the experience and found the inefficiency, bureaucracy and red tape of the federal government frustrating and discouraging. During this period he and Pinkie (wife and author of this work) lived at the Fairfax Hotel and she spent every day sightseeing the wonders of Washington and in the National Archives. It was because of this experience that this Garver genealogical research was started. From Washington, they took trips to Gettysburg and Scotland, Pennsylvania, where the past unfolded and blossomed into reality.

After his stint was over, the Garvers, along with three other couples from Chicago, the Bradley Ebens, Charles Chaplins, and John Forbes, went to Spain and Portugal on a month's vacation. This trip, with all its pleasant comraderie and foreign travel, was one of the highlights of their lives.

It was at this time that the Garver Retirement Life Style was formulated: 4 months in a rented condominium at 3310 S. Ocean Blvd., Delray Beach, Florida; 3 or 4 months at the family cottage in Ludington, Michigan, which George owned, having purchased Mary's portion after his mother's death; and the fall of the year was devoted to Chicago, the holidays, trips to Boston to visit son Bob Garver and stepson Bob Barrett, trips west for the Nebraska-Kansas games, which were always a source of agony for George because of the one-sided scores, and visits to Pinkie's mother in Neligh, Nebraska. This rotation of homes turned out to be a successful solution to the possible boredom and discontent of retirement.

World War II

On October 27, 1942 George enlisted in the U.S. Naval Reserve with the commission of Lt. Junior Grade.[1] On November 7, he received orders to report to San Francisco on November 30th, his 37th birthday. There he was assigned to the Armed Guard Unit, in which there were 57 men like him awaiting training in the Officers Training School on Treasure Island. Most of these men were between the ages of 27 and 45 years.

The Armed Guard was a unit in the Navy whose sole purpose was to protect any ship to which it was assigned. The Guard consisted of the Army Guard Officer and his crew, the men who handled the guns on merchant ships (tankers, freighters or Liberty Ships.) These ships were manned and run by a Master and his crew of Merchant Marines. There were usually around 26 men in the Armed Guard crew.

The Armed Guard Commanding officer was a doctor for his crew, treating them for all sicknesses from a head cold to shrapnel wounds. He served as their chaplain, their father, their teacher, censor, and their psychiatrist. As we follow George's experiences with his crews, we shall see how he excelled in all of these roles.

During his time away from home, George wrote faithfully to his parents, telling them of his experiences as much as he was able to in view of censorship. Obviously he tried to allay their fears but through it all, the truth was evident. His father retained all these letters and had them typed and placed in a notebook for posterity. According to regulations and under the threat of heavy penalty, Naval officers were forbidden to write diaries, but George did retain some logs and reports which pinpointed some of his locations and activities.. The following quotations and dates were taken from these notebooks.

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1. The Certificate of Commission was signed by Frank Knox, Secretary of War.

On the first day in the service, George met Murray ("Tex") Body, who occupied the bunk next to him. They became instant and fast friends from the first meeting and formed a lasting friendship. Their paths frequently crossed during the war. On February 7, Body was the first in the group to be called. George wrote, "He is a swell person. I hope I will run across him in some foreign port." This acquaintance was important to George and to Tex also. The last time they saw each other was a joyful reunion in Madrid, Spain, in 1971.(1)

On December 26, 1942, this group was sent to San Diego for training. On February 19 George went to Portland, Oregon, to pick up his first ship--the SS John Whiteaker, an EC-2 design Liberty vessel, owned by Isthmian Steamship Company, and chartered by Army Transport Service. George's title was Commander of Armed Guard Unit. Their work was to be transporting troops and cargo. As time progressed, the cargo loads consisted of 2500 Tons of zinc concentrate and 26 Tons salvage material to be sent back to the United States, guns, army supplies, land barges, ammunition, jeeps, gasoline, landing strips, gear for the troops being carried, vehicles, assault boats, bridge materials, etc. One report refers to 1229 U.S. Army troops, another time 429, while other reports refer to the Australian troops they transported.

Conditions on the ships were generally quite good. George reported he had a nice sized room to himself and at first he was exuberant about the wonderful quality and variety of fresh foods: steak for breakfast, roast beef and ham for dinner and fried chicken for supper (3/26/44) But this was not to last. June, 1944, marked the beginning of a period when they were unable to procure the fresh foods and went to Army Field rations and wormy flour. By July even the Army rations became low.

Note: On January 12, 1981, Tex Body wrote, "I have many fond memories of the boy -- from our first encounter on our first day in the Navy - 30 November 1942. What a wonderful guy."

The Red Cross provided a Victorola with about 60 records plus games and boxing gloves for the enlisted men. While they had no movies aboard ship, in certain jungle ports, movies were shown for the service men and they sat on boards and logs on the wet grounds to watch. George wrote of a loud speaker system which had been installed throughout the ship for the benefit of the troops being carried to battle and he could listen to strains of a dance band in San Francisco.

To offset some of the unpleasant things, the Army put beer aboard, which was rationed, one can per person per day, when they were not steaming.

George's tour of duty was divided into two parts, the first on the S. S. John Whiteaker, lasting from February 19, 1943, to November 27, 1943. This voyage took him from San Francisco to the Southwest Pacific and return. Usually, the ship was accompanied by an escort or was part of a task force. Rarely they performed singly. They visited and re-visited the following ports, loading and unloading their cargo: Brisbane, Sydney, his favorite and the home of "Monica", the "blond beauty", Melbourne, Townsville, Gladstone, Cairns in Australia, and the jungle ports with grass shacks and natives in loin cloths and grass skirts, Oro Bay, Port Moresby, Milne Bay in New Guinea.

A typical day went like this:

4:30 Morning quarters with men on guns
5:30 Back to bed
7:30 Breakfast of steak, potatoes, eggs
9:00 Muster (give men hell for yesterday's misdeeds)
Lecture
10:00 Gun Drill
11:00 Inspection
11:30 Dinner for ship's officers
12:00 Siesta
1:00 Cleaning and Lubrication of guns; inspection of quarters
4:00 Physical Exercises
5:00 Supper
5:30 Quarters until dark
10:00 To bed

They constantly were on the alert for submarines and on one occasion an accompanying ship was credited with a sinking. There were a number of occasions in which the letters referred to combat and skirmishes. They had numerous aerial attacks by Jap bombers but no mishaps, and in October, 1943, he wrote that the attacks were a nightly event.

In New Guinea he spoke about swapping troops with another ship and taking on several companies of colored boys from the States. They had a 10 piece jazz band, which assembled on deck every evening and "let go". He was sorry to see them go as they helped the morale of everyone. (8/29/43)

On another occasion he wrote, "Our only diversion to date occurred two days ago when we quite accidently anchored offshore from a camp of army nurses. In one day I cleared a month's salary renting out my spy glasses."

The first part of his duty was completed on November 27 when he arrived in San Pedro, California, and happily headed for Kansas City and Chicago on December 6 for a ten day leave.

On December 16 he was back on Treasure Island for a refresher course. On December 27, 1944, he was assigned his second Liberty Ship, the SS Robert S. Bean. By January 22, they were back on the high seas in the midst of a bad storm with 50 mile winds, piling huge waves over the deck. In 36 hours they covered 20 miles in the wrong direction.

On March 3, 1944, he wrote that they were back in the same spots as the last year and while he could not mention the exact locations he again referred to grass shacks and jungles (obviously New Guinea). His March letters contained comments of "boring", "time dragging", "100 degrees", "much rain", "not doing anything." But April brought some naval officer clubs, a leave in Sydney, and overhaul of the ship presumably to accommodate more troops, which undoubtedly helped his morale.

planes, underground rooms and pill boxes, which were equipped with Japanese liquor and a harem of Javanese women. He picked up some minor souvenirs, such as Jap books, money, shells, a rice dish, etc.

"They are a nervy bunch -- illustrated by a plane that came over, flying about for almost two hours with all running lights lit and everyone in vicinity blazing away at it. Finally we got wise that its sole purpose was to find out the location of the anti aircraft batterues, so we let it fly around."

"We are acting in the capacity of supply ship for troops ashore and they remove a little now and then to meet requirements of the moment."

June 4 -- "We have not moved though plans are proceeding for a further advance. The organization equipment that we had aboard has been removed and other cargo is now being loaded for the next jump. (sometimes empty gasoline drums or troops).....It will be a long time yet before we get back to the peace and quiet that were so unappreciated when we first came over this time."

June 6, George wrote of extensive night activity from the sky, starting at 10:25 p.m. and lasting until 6:40 in the morning with very few lulls and fortunately no mishaps.

June 13, they were steaming away from the combat zone but by July 1 he wrote he could see the Japs through his glasses.

"Jap planes paid us two visits but failed to make contact with our ship, except for bomb fragments which fell on the deck and made the troops flatten themselves for awhile." 7/1/44

"The task force, of which we are a part, has successfully completed the acquisition of another Southwest Pacific island. Having no air cover for protection, the Japs became quite bold at night and send over planes to bomb and strafe.....We set sail with a destroyer each evening and cruise around a safe distance from the island until daybreak, when we again come in as close as we can get to the beach

In May he wrote, "Each step is important now and the idle moments have disappeared." He hinted at the chances of impending battle according to rampant rumors. (5/16/44)

In his letter of the 21st he told of spending most of the day on the bridge watching the fighting ashore. "Everything but some of the equipment is ashore..... This morning nearby destroyers put on a good show, when they opened up on several shore installations and blew them to bits. By tonight one of the captured air strips should have been leveled off sufficiently to permit our fighter planes to land, adding a touch of security to any situation..... Summing up I would say that the expedition was a big success and we have regained some more territory that the Japanese acquired in their first mad rush. They are being driven back into the jungles from which they have little chance of escaping."(1)

"I am having much sport with one of those walkie-talkie radio sets and spend most of the time on it. With it we are in constant touch with operations ashore...It seems odd to be sitting here watching a battle fought only a mile or so away and yet I have a soft bed, etc. ....Rather gives the impression of seeing a news reel from a soft seat in the theater."

On May 30th, he wrote again, saying his position as an onlooker had radically changed, as the Japanese planes were attacking nightly. One night the Japs had made a counter attack, filtered through to a position on the beach and started firing machine guns at the ship. The merchant crew took cover and "I kept my boys flat on the deck until the worst was over. Then we proceeded to remedy the situation quickly."

The next Sunday, George went ashore for a couple of hours, "Sufficient to last me for the remainder of our stay." He was shocked at the destruction and repulsed by the sight and stench of Japs dead for a week under a hot tropical sun. He saw at least 100 wrecked Jap

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1. Note: The author believes this is referring to the Battle of Guadacanal.

.....Reefs surround the island.....we unload into LCT barges....." 7/15/44

On 7/21/44, he wrote that Japs still held portion of the island. "Yesterday I saw two truckloads of Japanese prisoners.....they were a scrawny lot. It is not often that they are taken in any quantity for these Japs usually prefer to commit suicide....."

"We are still cruising around at night while island is being bombed. More of our planes are moving in." 7/23/44

"This rainy Sunday morning finds us at sea, sailing empty and headed out of the combat zone." 7/30/44

This was the end of his active participation in battle and the next several months found him headed for the equator, learning the Hokey Pokey ("a dance which I hope never reaches the U.S.") at some port, and putting in at a number of "good" ports.

On September 15 he had his first official naval inspection--a surprise. "I received a grade of 3.82 out of a possible 4, which pleased me very much and caused me to forgive the boys for many of their past sins. The grade comes within the classification of "ex cellent."

"My Boys"

Since George's principal duty was the handling of his crew, I have written a segment to include some of his experiences. It was interesting to note his progress and handling of these boys.

Author's note: It is with the deepest regret that I realize I never discussed this phase of George's life with him. It is frustrating to know that these various ports and battles will never be identified. I have included portions of this eye witness account of the battles because I feel it is an historical contribution to the Garver family history. I trust that the descendants will read the entire set of letters and guarantee they will find it interesting reading....LCG

On his first ship George started out his new job with 26 green young sailors. He wrote, "I think they all like me but I have intentionally avoided any sign of familiarity and have tried to keep strict discipline. For the most part, I am well satisfied with them." Discipline, of course, was important for the safety of the ship and its human and vital cargo.

Some of his "patients" suffered from the following ailments: human bite on finger, inflamed eye, appendicitis, severe colds, bruised ankle, eye strain, coral cuts on feet, cut on left knee caused by tripping on deck, malaria, toothache, ringworm, etc.

Examples of the misdemeanors of the crew attest to the fact that it was not a case of super sensitivity on the part of their commanding officer. A number of the sailors, under the influence of liquor, were punished at various times for fighting with the Merchant Crew, with the cook, with Shore Patrol, with a Canadian gunner, and with each other. Others refused to attend the physical exercise assignments, refused to get up and refused to take examinations.

Under the pretense of frightening a fellow seaman in the head, on one occasion one rebel took a fire axe from its stand on the bulkhead and with it struck the head door several times, permanently damaging said door. He and his cohort denied the charge and said they remembered no such incident, although identified by the occupant of the head. Solitary confinement on bread and water was the result of this escapade.

Another was charged with disorderly conduct, resulting in damage to naval equipment and a month later was discovered sleeping on watch. One sailor was considered so incorrigible that he was taken off the ship and replaced.

And these were the "good" crew!

However the situation with the crew on the S.S. Bean was totally

different and George found them to be much inferior to the Whiteaker crew -- "young smart alecks that would drive a person crazy if you let them." ..... "I have never seen a dumber bunch of rattle brained kids in my life and have spent many moments cursing the Navy for wishing such a gang off on to me." 2/6/44

The Petty Officer reported that these boys who were causing so much trouble had been so homesick the first week or so that some had cried themselves to sleep. George felt many were too young to be thrown into this "racket" without more time to adjust.

Later he wrote, "Due to the increasing carelessness and cockiness on the part of the boys, I had to become the typical stern and severe commanding officer this week. Those tactics plus handing out some punishments, including that sure cure of three days in solitary confinement on bread and water, have caused all the lads to start sprouting wings for the moment."

On April 2, 1944, George wrote that he had to censor so many letters he suspicioned that the crew just took telephone directories and wrote to all feminine names. Their spelling was so bad that the next day muster included a short lesson on spelling, as "I am embarrassed to place my initials on some of the letters."

It was around this time that George speculated that he might be detached and assigned to shore duty. Anyone who has experienced life in the military knows how the rumor mill works. "Such a possibility, however, gave rise today to the first compliment I have detected from the crew -- our relations being maintained as nearly as I could manage, on a formal basis. I was asked whether I thought we would go to a certain port (Sydney), one that always appeals to all true sailors. When I replied in the affirmative, I was amazed to hear several say that they hoped we would miss it. Upon asking for what reason, I was further amazed to receive the answer that they were afraid I would be taken off. I left their presence immediately

for fear I might disclose some of the feeling I had inside."

This incident seemed to somewhat change George's reactions and attitude toward the bad actors of the SS Robert Bean because it was noted that thereafter he referred to them as "my boys." Judging from the reports on the first crew, which he considered a good group, one can imagine how horrendous this group really was. Signs of sympathy, concern, optimism, paternal pride and understanding showed as he reported their antics.

In May, he wrote, "My boys have been performing in a satisfactory manner." In June, with pride, "I now have twelve of them studying to make a rating." July 1 -- "My boys are fairly well seasoned by now and though their ability as gunners may not be first class as yet, they make up for their shortcomings in that respect by their eagerness and determination, which tends to rashness at times. I am sure that we will do all right for ourselves regardless of the predicament."

July 21 -- "My boys performed better than I expected when we set out six months ago and cause me very little concern from day to day. This has been quite an ordeal for most of them and I am surprised by the manner in which their spirits have held up."

July 30 -- "I am hoping our destination will be far enough back to permit the boys to see a few movies in the open air jungle theaters and to hike a little on solid earth."

August 6 -- "I was finally successful in securing an issue of Army clothes for my lads. They look like some sort of a cross breed with white Navy hats over an Army outfit."

August 13 -- "No mail for three months. All of us are fit for an insane asylum. My boys are unusually hard to handle on this trip. Under the circumstances I tried to overlook as much as I could, but finally had to 'be tough', which has brought them back in line for the time being."

August 20 -- "Happy Days are here again. My share of mail totalled 117 letters. It was a great occasion for us all and we are ready now to carry on for as many more months as we are needed."

August 31 -- "In anticipation of a visit to Sydney, these kids of mine have been brushing and pressing their blues all week. After confinement to the ship for so long I can imagine what will happen. I have given my famous course of lectures on the evils of night life in port and I hope they are at least careful. Thus far, I have never had a boy under me contract a venereal disease, which is an unusual record and one I would like to maintain. The main trouble is liquor --the bars usually sell their quota early in the evening and the boys seek out the bootlegger and purchase for the sum of $18 a concoction that would knock out an elephant."

September 10 -- "My lads were a sorry looking bunch at sailing time. When a boy in his teens gets back from combat duty and fills his insides with an assortment of liquor, his idea of a swell time is to see how many fights he can get into. If they cannot find anyone else, they will fight among themselves. By sailing time, most had at least one black eye, but only one landed in jail. When the Bobbies released him to me, they said he had only been held for safe keeping....."Humility reigns at the moment and three are repenting in solitary confinement with bread and water for a diet. However, I heard one whisper to another that it was worth it -- so apparently everyone is satisfied."

Reactions

It was interesting to note George's reactions to his war time experiences -- many of them obviously influeneced by conditions of the moment.

His great complaint was the long lapses of two or three months in which he and the men received no mail. One could see their morale slip lower and lower at that time and there was talk about coming home.

At one point George said if there was no mail at the next port he would have an honest to goodness mutiny on his hands.

His other gripe was having to do his laundry. This ran through the entire series of letters -- and the question, "Is it better to do a little often or wait until everything was soiled?" never was satisfactorily answered. He spoke of placing his khaki shirts under a steam pipe and then taking them into the shower with him, all the time bemoaning the fact that they did not provide washing machines.

Otherwise, for the most part, he remained cheerful, optimistic and non complaining. Excerpts from his first tour of duty follow:

"It is a wonderful experience and it makes me feel pretty fine inside to know I am really doing my part to help the cause." 4/7/43

"I am getting a kick out of life on the water...had two minor contacts but came through nicely, so we know fairly well what to do." 4/18/43

At the beginning of his second tour, he wrote, "I find the atmosphere of adventure and lurking danger that made my first trip over this route a rather exciting experience, no longer exists and the voyage is another routine assignment."

February 13, 1944 -- "So it goes in the Navy, a lot of laughs, some worry and a few scares, but all in all, a good branch in which to serve one's country."

On June 8, 1944, when in combat -- "This trip has come up to all expectations for excitement and we will appreciate a little peace and quiet and a good night's sleep....We came through without mishap, though I believe my bald spot is a trifle more extensive."

July 1, 1944 --From New Guinea-- "The affair in the Southwest Pacific is like a game of checkers--new landings may be several hundred miles beyond the last, cutting off Japs in between where by a process of blockage and pressure they can eventually be wiped out ....."It is no picnic and opposition became increasingly stronger as the casualty figures all show."

7/15/44 -- "It is a beautiful sight from a few miles out with the sky over the island filled with bursting shells, tracers and flares, with an occasional flash of an exploding bomb."

8/20/44 -- "Don't worry about me for I know when to duck when that procedure is called for." (1983 -- one recalls President Reagan's remarks to his wife Nancy following his attempted assassination -- "I guess I forgot to duck.")

June 1945 -- "I am enjoying these experiences and everything is going along nicely in my department." (Combat)

September 6 -- "Lately more than ever I have had a terrific desire to get home and try to live a normal life again. This ship has rather worn me out. I hope my sunny disposition will return when I am detached."

September 17 -- George tells of plans to visit a land that he had wanted to see (New Zealand) and then expected another long hop to a new continent (South America). "In other words, I am now on a travel cruise and am thrilled at the opportunity to see new places."

October 17, 1944 -- "It has been a long year but I do not believe I am any worse for the experience."

In writing to his son in October, 1944, he said, "I have no way to attend church when on the ship but there have been very few nights when I have not said my prayers for the nearness of danger seems to make one realize more than ever before, that God is very real and that there is nothing to worry about if you have faith in him and ask for his guidance."

On October 17, he wrote, "The ship is entirely empty and we will load in our next port with a cargo destined for the States."

The return trip took him to several ports in Chili, through the Panama Canal to Charleston, South Carolina, where he was placed on duty, boarding incoming ships, inspecting guns, quarters and Navy Personnel. He was officially detached from his ship on November 16,

1944, and turned over "his" boys to Glynn C. Beam who was to proceed to New Orleans with his charges. (Official orders of U.S. Naval Transportation Service, Sixth Naval District Headquarters, Charleston, South Carolina)

On December 7, George left for Chicago, returning to Washington, D. C. after his leave was over, on January 1st. He was given his permanent assignment for the duration as Labor Relations Officer, attached to SECP (Shore Establishments and Civilian Personnel), in charge of civilian personnel problems in Navy Yards and Ordnance Plants (employment, training, wages, classification, labor relations, etc.). While there he lived at the Emery Hotel, 1812 G Street. He was upgraded to Lieutenant, senior grade upon his return.

On January 22, 1945 he went to Philadelphia for six weeks, assigned to Personnel Relations Division of Naval Air Material Center, where he had jurisdiction over 8,000 civilians engaged in repairing planes and manufacturing parts. There he lived at 2105 Walnut in a private home for $9 per week. While he was in good spirits, as usual, he complained that he was "lost in red tape and meaningless procedure", sometimes wondering if it was worth the effort.

In the Navy George's ability was recognized as shown by correspondence between Lt. Commander R. D. Fisher, Washington, D. C., and Commander James Lovitt, Personnel Relations Officer, Philadelphia, regarding his placement after completing his training in Philadelphia:

> "Both Connolly and Garver have excellent qualifications for training as future personnel relations officers and in addition to that possess splendid personalities and display mature judgement...I feel confident that both of these men are fully equipped to assume full responsibility of a personnel relations officer's billet.....In order to provide them with sufficient rank for top personnel relations, it might be worth considering spot promotions for them." Lovitt to Fisher 2/24/45 (1)

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1. John Connolly from New Orleans and George reported for duty in Philadelphia at the same time and lived in the same rooming house. They had a good relationship and were friends.

"We agree with you fully in the matter of rank and desirability of spot promotions for such officers...You might tell him, however, that if he is not to be assigned to McAlester, he is going to get a darn good job in New York Navy Yard as Labor Relations Officer. My hunch is that Garver will probably get the job in New York, which would, of course, be a pretty good break....It's the biggest navy establishment we have and a tremendous number of problems in Labor Relations. Hubbell is up to his ears and very badly needs help in these matters." Fisher to Lovitt 3/1/45

"In the opinion of the Personnel Relations Officer, Lt. Garver possesses the qualities necessary for success in this field. He displays a keen interest in the work and exercises mature judgment and a sympathetic approach to civilian employees problems." CO NSMV. (D. Royce - Naval Air Material Center) 3/19/45

"This is to advise you that Garver will definitely get the Labor Relations billet at the New York Navy Yard. This is a good break for Garver and I am sure he is one of the best men we could possibly get for this particular job." Fisher to Lovitt. 3/3/45

He wrote to his father that his Income tax for 1943 was $269, due to $1500 received from the Natural Gas Pipeline Co., 1942, $67.00, and 1944, $15.00. 3/11/45

On March 15, 1945, George reported to the Personnel Relations Division of the New York Navy Yard, located in Brooklyn, New York. He acted in an advisory capacity in all grievance cases and their hearings prescribed by the Navy Department. George wrote that he enjoyed the work and the officers he worked with. During his bachelorhood here, he rented a room in a brownstone at 156 E. 71st, near Lexington and Park Avenues.

His reaction on President Roosevelt's death was that after the first shock, he said, "I have a great deal of confidnce in Truman and believe he will call in some able men to advise him and eventually get rid of the crackpots and dreamers that Roosevelt collected. Thank God Wallace was no longer Vice President."

April 18 -- "I doubt that I shall ever become adjusted to Navy office procedure...There must have been well over 300 (grievances) that passed over my desk today...many concerning discrimination cases, about half concerning Negro employees and the remainder Jews.

May 10 -- Describing his V-E Day celebration -- "After Truman made his speech, there was a demonstartion at the Yard that lasted about an hour, much paper thrown from windows and blowing of whistles, but at the end of that everyone returned to work and things went on schedule for the remainder of the day. After work I walked over to Times Square and watched the crowd that jammed the street, but their hearts didn't seem to be in the merry-making. Everyone realizes that there remains much to be done and many lives to be lost before Japan is defeated. J-E Day can't come too soon to suit me...."

During this period, George and Sue had decided to re-marry and George was busy in his spare time looking for an apartment. He finally settled on one at 119-40 Union Turnpike, Kew Gardens, Long Island. He wrote, "I am very happy....It will be perfect to have a real home once again. I will do everything in my power to hang onto it."

On June 15 Sue and George were re-married in Jamaica, New York. More about the wedding is included in another section.

And it was with this event that the series of letters which George's father had preserved ended. George resigned from the Navy on October 28, 1949, and received his Honorable Discharge on May 12, 1950, signed by Dan A. Kimball, Acting Secretary of the Navy. He was awarded a Pacific Theatre Service Ribbon with 2 Stars and an American Theatre Ribbon.

Susan Wright Garver

1906 - 1965

Marriage to Sue Wright

On May 17, 1924, George's engagement to Susan Gillespie Wright of Kansas City was announced in the Kansas City Star and on June 24, 1931. they were married at the Second Presbyterian Church in Kansas City.

Among her characteristics, Sue was attractive and smartly dressed, a lady, a devoted mother, and a very talented pianist. She brought much pleasure to friends and family by her classical and popular musical renditions on the piano at home and at social affairs. The Kansas City Independent, upon her death wrote: "Mrs. Garver is remembered as a charming and gracious person."

She was born on July 1, 1906 at Nevada, Iowa, the daughter of Clair Gary and Lillian (Gillespie) Wright. She grew up in Kansas City and attended Bryant School and Westport High School. On June 13, 1918, she received a 6th grade certificate from Kansas City Conservatory of Music. On June 13, 1919, she completed her public elementary grade school studies and was issued a diploma to mark the event. She attended Lindenwood College for two years, where she was awarded her diploma as a music major on June 9, 1925. Afterwards she went to the University of Missouri, where she was a member of Pi Beta Phi Sorority.

The wedding was a social event in Kansas City and recorded in the Independent and various Kansas City papers with full details and pictures. It was held on a Wednesday evening at 9 o'clock at the Second Presbyterian Church in Kansas City. The service was preceded by a program of organ music and vocal recital given by a quartet. The bride wore an antique ivory satin gown with full length train and a full length veil ov irovy tulle, with a cap of princess lace fashioned with clusters of orange blossoms. The groom's gift was

a pearl necklace and she carried a large arm bouquet of regal lilies. Mary Garver was maid of honor and Sue was attended by 4 bridesmaids and a flower girl. The reception was held at the home of the bride's parents.

After a brief honeymoon in Canada and Michigan, the newlyweds moved to Chicago and set up housekeeping in a modest apartment at 5746 Kenmore Avenue, Chicago. After their first home, they lived at various locations on the north side of Chicago, eventually moving to the suburbs of Evanston, Winnetka, and Northfield.

Their only child, Robert Wright Garver, was born on November 17, 1933, in Evanston Hospital. His life will be reviewed in a separate section. However, it must be pointed out that at all times he brought great joy to his parents and probably influenced their lives as well as vice versa.

After seventeen years, the marriage was dissolved by divorce on May 16, 1941.[1] At this time George was transferred to Wisconsin and subsequently enlisted in the Navy Reserve.

Toward the end of the war Sue and George were reconciled and were remarried by Frank R. McGlynn, city clerk, in Jamaica, New York, on June 15, 1945. George's sister, Mary, and her husband, Graham Campbell and son Bob attended the wedding. It was a happy turn of events, as all the family had been concerned about the effect of the separation on Bobby's health and the break up of the once happy marriage.

This marriage continued until Sue's death, resulting from a cerebral hemorrhage on March 29, 1965, at Passavant Hospital, Chicago. She had been afflicted for several years with Alzheimers Disease and at the end of her life had constant nursing companionship. She was buried at Memorial Park Mausoleum in Skokie.

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1. Superior Court - Cook County - Gen No 4156674

Her mother, nee Lillian Gillespie, was born in Nevada, Iowa, on August 17, 1875. In Kansas City she was a member of the Second Presbyterian Church and P.E.O. After her husband's death, she lived with Sue and George and subsequently in a nursing home in Evanston. She was married to Clair Wright on January 29, 1902. She died on January 8, 1965 at the age of 89.

Sue's father, Clair G. Wright, died in 1933 in Kansas City. She also had a brother Gary, who was married to Elizabeth Ferguson. They had 4 children and lived in Kansas City and later in the Phoenix, Arizona, area.

Second Marriage

In March of 1966 George gave up the life of a suburbanite and rented a luxurious three bedroom apartment on the 16th floor of 1300 Lake Shore Drive Building in Chicago, overlooking Lake Michigan.

One month later on April 10, George's sister Mary arranged for him to have a date with her longtime friend, Pinkie Barrett (the author).

Pinkie was a petite redhead, 5 feet tall, weighing 101 lbs. The year long romance culminated in their marriage on April 22, 1967 at 11 o'clock in the John Timothy Stone chapel of the Fourth Presbyterian Church. Pinkie was dressed in a light pink lace dress with jacket, designed by Christian Dior, with matching pillbox hat and veil. She and George walked down the aisle together to the altar where they were received by Pinkie's daughter, Kathleen Hartigan, and George's son Robert, who served as his father's best man.

Pinkie carried a miniature bouquet of her favorite flowers, violets and lilies of the valley. After the meaningful service, attended by 36 dear friends and relatives, the guests and newlyweds returned to George's apartment, which was decorated with massive

bouquets of lilacs and tulips. Here a lavish buffet luncheon was served and enjoyed by the guests who included family members; Mrs. Robert Garver, George's 87 year old mother, confined to her wheel chair because of arthritis; Robert and Judy Garver with children, Linda and Bobby (Charlotte was at home because she was too young); Mary and Graham Campbell; Pinkie's sons, Robert Barrett, a graduate student at Harvard Business School and Richard Barrett, a senior at Harvard University; her son-in-law, David Hartigan with his mother, Mrs. Coletta Hartigan and sister.

For a wedding trip, the couple, ecstatic and extremely happy on this day and for the next eleven years to follow, departed in a limousine for O'Hare Airport and a plane to New York. Here they stayed in a lovely suite overlooking Central Park. Their wedding supper took place at the restaurant Quo Vadis. They stayed in New York only a few days but during this short honeymoon, George invited his old friend, August Belmont, to the suite to meet his bride.

Several weeks later they flew to Puerto Rico in the Natural Gas Pipeline private Sabre Jet plane for a combination delayed honeymoon and an executive meeting of INGAA. The couple were greeted warmly by all of George's devoted industry friends -- a festive way to commence their life together.

During this marriage Pinkie and George enjoyed a number of trips to gas conventions and executive meetings in nice places as the Broad- Hotel, Colorado Springs, San Francisco, New Orleans, and Manoir Richelieu and Quebec City in Canada. Other glamorous trips took them to Hawaii, Mexico, Spain, Portugal, and a Caribbean Cruise.

George was an avid spectator sportsman and he and Pinkie spent many an hour in front of the television set watching all sports events. He was very loyal to his alma maters and their sport programs. During the football season, he weekly attended a luncheon given for

Michigan Alumni, at which they showed the re-runs of the previous Saturday game and a member of the coaching staff would commentate. On one rare Red Letter Saturday afternoon, November 9, 1975, his teams did the hat trick and Michigan, Kansas and Washburn College, all won! That was the day that K.U. zapped the Oklahoma Sooners 23-3. His elation rivalled and surpassed the emotions of an undergraduate.(1)

Much has been written about the happiness derived from marriages "the second time around." This was true in their case. It was a marriage of bliss with never an argument or even controversial discussion.

To summarize Pinkie's life, she was born on May 31, 1917, in Neligh, Nebraska, the first born of Dr. Robert Guy and Blanche McNabb Kryger, and was christened Lila Catherine. She had one sister, Jeannette (Crosson), to whom she was deeply devoted. During her school years she excelled in academic pursuits and was active in all outside activities and graduated as valedictorian of her class of 1934. The next fall she entered the University of Nebraska and pledged Chi Omega sorority, living in the house for the next four years. It was here in her freshman year that she received her nickname, "Pinkie", which stayed with her for her lifetime.

On May 26, 1941, she was married to Gene Barrett, of Chicago, in Neligh Nebraska. Three children were born to this union: Kathleen, October 20, 1942; Robert Gene, August 24, 1944; and Richard James, December 30, 1948. After serving in the war Gene became Manager and Vice-President of the luxurious Ambassador Hotels of Chicago, and the family lived there until 1960.

During this time they were socially well known and were acquainted with many celebrities from the stage and movies, such as Arthur Godfrey,

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1. Chicago Tribune, Nov. 9, 1975

with whom they vacationed in Virginia and Jamaica, Bob Hope who entertained them on a movie set in Hollywood, Jack Webb, whose wedding they attended, Grace Kelly later Princess of Monaco, Helen Hayes, etc. After living in the Ambassador Hotels for a period of 14 years, they moved for several years to the Edgewater Beach Hotel, which Gene managed. Shortly after this, the Barretts were divorced -- a tragic event at that time in the life of Pinkie and her children and one not entered into lightly. It was therefore a happy conclusion when she met and married George -- and they lived happily ever after -- until November 24, 1978.

Pinkie was active in charitable affairs, serving from 1948 to the present, as President and Chairman of the Chicago Maternity Center Women's Board and originator of the Gold Coast Fashion Award Show, a social event in Chicago. She also served on the Center's Board of Directors as a member and Executive Vice-President. In a program saluting her on the 25th anniversary of the style show, they wrote in the program:

> "....A true 'dyna-mite' this petite, vivacious dynamic lady had the brilliance and foresight to put together a combination of ideas whose appeal is as great today as it was twenty-five years ago....Pinkie's vision has greatly benefitted The Chicago Maternity Center and has also resulted in hundreds of women who have been dedicated to the goal of healthy babies being born safely to healthy mothers. Pinkies leadership and unflagging devotion to our cause has aroused the admiration and gratitude of all who are privileged to know her."

In writing of the impending marriage to George, Herb Lyon in the Tower Ticker column of the Chicago Tribune on April 16, 1967, describes Pinkie as "one of our town's most popular figures." On February 21, 1969, she was cited as "First Lady of the Day" by the Radio Station WAIT in recognition for her contribution to the community in the Field of Human Relations.

Health and Death

The author is dedicating a section to George's health because his illnesses and his reactions affected the quality of life for his latter years.

George was a strong, uncomplaining person who despised ill health -- mainly because of the inconvenience and unhappiness it would bring to others. He carried on when he did not feel like it and put forth special effort when the body was not so willing -- a factor which probably prolonged his life.

Until his retirement in 1970 he was fairly free from illness and accidents with the exception of a bout with bursitis in 1963 and a hemorroidal operation. When he was assisting his son Bob leave Dartmouth University after his graduation, an accident occurred in which a trunk severed a tendon in George's arm. Characteristically, he did not admit to the terrible pain until it became unbearable eight hours later, because he did not want to spoil the celebration and the meeting with Bob's future in-laws.

For a number of years his personal physician and one of his best friends was Dr. Oglesby Paul, who later became known throughout the world as a heart specialist. And for the same number of years Dr. Paul waged a continuous unsuccessful battle to get George to quit smoking cigarettes, which he never did, despite several feeble attempts to beat the addiction. During this time his blood pressure was rising and he took medication to control same. However, during this time he worked hard with a great amount of energy and vitality.

In February of 1972, a year after his retirement, George suffered a stroke but fortunately during his two weeks of confinement at Passavant Hospital he recovered complete use of his legs, arms, speech and vision. However, there had been some brain damage, which involved a a process of re-learning, which he privately mastered with dignity and

silence. While the stroke seemed to rob him of his normal sharp sense of humor, it probably mellowed George and allowed this vibrant man to accept retirement more willingly. While no more foreign travel was undertaken and he did very little driving, life went on normally and happily.

A year later in February, when he was again optimistically negotiating to purchase a motor boat for Michigan, he was stricken with a heart attack. Again, he recuperated well and he and Pinkie continued on their planned trip to Florida in March.

Later it was discovered he had two aortic aneurysms -- one in the stomach and one in the chest. Because of his past medical history, Dr. Paul did not recommend bypass surgery, which was just coming into prominence at that time in the medical field, but instead he was x-rayed periodically. In 1977 a pace maker was installed.

The summer and fall months of 1978 were plagued with frightening blackouts, fainting spells and loss of weight. However, he insisted upon attending all the social functions at Ludington and enjoyed the annual house party with the Walter Rogers, of Washington, D. C., Emil Reutzels, of Nebraska, and Karl Johnsons, of Kansas City. Despite the happy times, every moment, day or night, was filled with fear and apprehension by the author who felt she held his life in her hands, because of his uncomplaining nature. By the same token in October, Pinkie had a serious kidney operation and he gave the same loving care and concern he received.

On November 24 when George was walking home from a neighborhood bank, he was stricken with severe chest pains. He was miraculously able to get home in a taxi and was treated there by paramedics and a physician in the building, before being transferred to the Emergency Room of Wesley Memorial Hospital by ambulance. At 6:05 p.m. he died as a result of a ruptured aneruysm.

And so this man, so loved by his wife, son, and sister, died -- as he had lived -- stoic, brave, selfless, and with dignity.

- - - -

"Let us all say a prayer to God for George. Let us meditate and be thankful for his qualities -- for being a gentle man and a gentleman....his patience...his sense of humor..... his sense of equlity, treating those in all walks of life with equal respect.... his honesty ..... his kindness..... his quiet ways..... his unselfishness..... his gratitude."

Those were the comforting words of the young minister who conducted his funeral services at Fourth Presbyterian Church, on a cold and icy day, November 28th. And that was as George's world remembered him. Almost every person who attended the final visitation and the hundreds of letters received all remarked, "A real gentleman" -- an honest and beautiful legacy to leave.

He was cremated and his remains interred in the Columbarium, Niche Section III, No. 21, Memorial Park Cemetery Mausoleum, 9900 Gross Point Road, Skokie, Illinois.

Sue Gillespie Wright Garver Genealogy

The two following lineages were professionally researched and found among Sue Garver's possessions:

ROYAL DESCENT OF ENGLISH BRANCH OF TYRRELL

1. Robert Wright Garver m. Judy Corwin
2. Susan Gillespie Wright m. George Parkhurst Garver
3. Lillian Viola Gillespie m. Clair Gary Wright 1/19/1902
4. Joseph Franklin Gillespie m. Mary Jane Mitchell
5. Norillo Gillespie m. Penelope Johnson (b. 11/18/1816)
6. Joseph Johnson m. Elizabeth Butterworth 1812
7. Benjamin Butterworth m. Rachel Moorman
8. Zachariah Moorman m. Betty Tyrrell
9. Henry Tyrrell m. (1) Anne Chiles (2) Sarah Woodson
10. William Tyrrell m. Susannah Waters

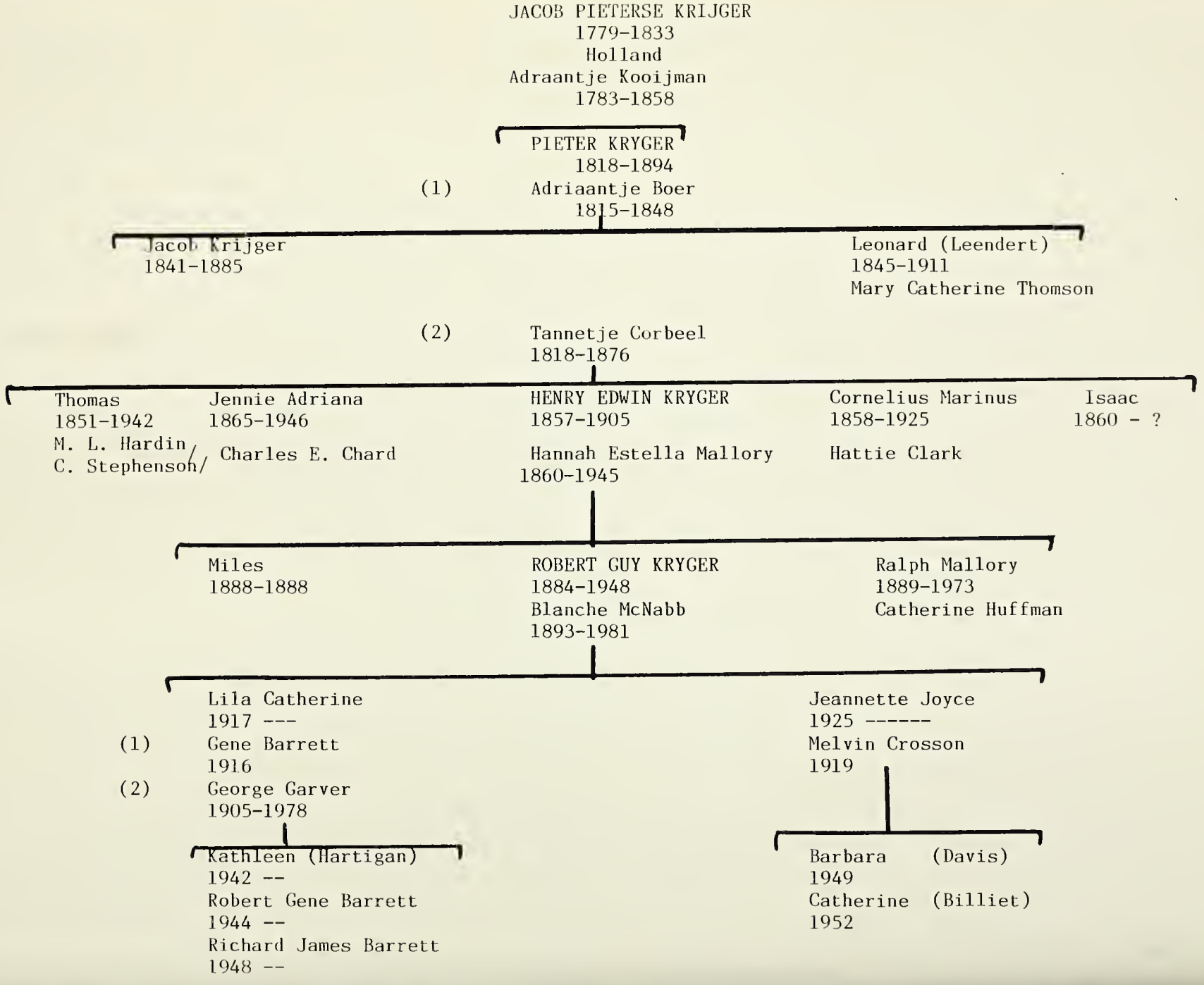
"The Tyrrells of Virginia are descended from William and Richard Tyrrell and may not have left England until after the Restoration of Charles II, although Richmond is said to have arrived as early as 1656."

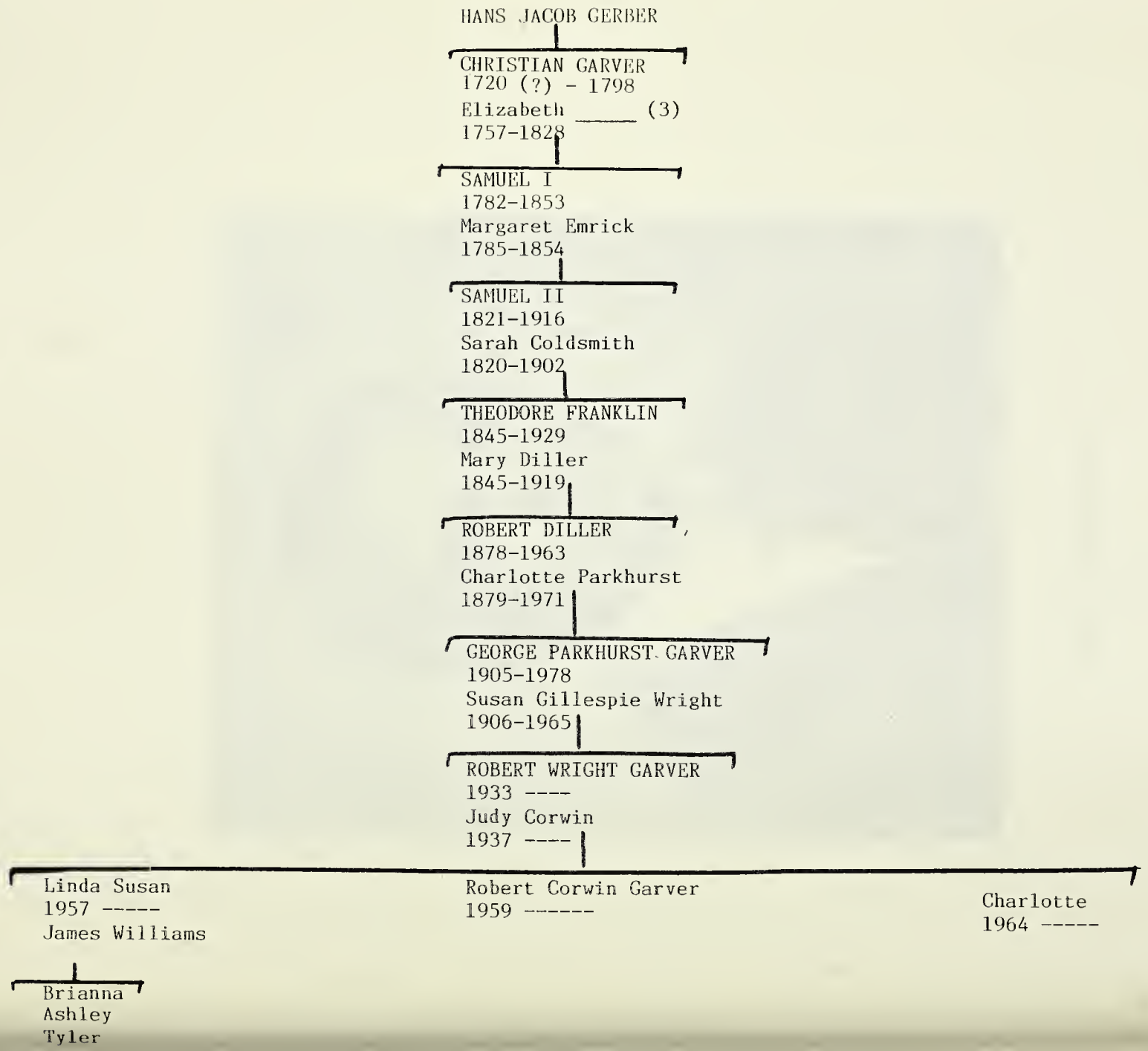
15. Wm. Tyrrell, killed in civil war at Chester (Burke's Extinct and Dormant Baronets)
14. Sir Timothy Tyrrell of Oakley, in Bucks, m. Eleanor, daughter of Sir William Kingsmill, knt of Sidmanton, Hants.
13. Sir Edward Tyrrell m. (1) Mary, daughter of Benedict Lee and had only son Edward Tyrrell (2) Margaret, daughter of Thomas Aston, esq. in Chshire and widow of T. Egerton, esq. of Walgrave
12. George Tyrrell, 1571 m. Eleanor, daughter of Sir Edward Montaque, knt. Lord chief justice of England
11. Humphrey Tyrrell m. Jane Ingleton of Thornton
10. William Tyrrell m. Elizabeth Bodley
9. Sir Thomas Tyrrell m. Elizabeth LeBrun
8. Ann Marney m. Sir Thomas Tyrrell of Heron
7. Sir John Marney m. Agnes Throckmorton
6. Elizabeth Serjeaux m. Sir William Marney
5. Phillippa Fitzalan m. Sir Richard Serjeaux
4. Isabel Despencer m. Richard Fitzalan, 5th Earl of Arundel
3. Eleanor de Clare m. Hugh Despencer Earl of Gloucester
2. Joan Plantagenete m. Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester
1. Edward I., King of England m. Eleanor of Castile. Born 1238

ROLFE AND BOLLING LINEAGE

1. Robert Wright Garver m. Judy Corwin
2. Susan Gillespie Wright m. George Parkhurst Garver
3. Lillian Viola Gillespie m. Clair Gary Wright 1/29/1902
4. Joseph Franklin Gillespie m. Mary Jane Mitchell
5. Norilo Gillespie m. Penelope Johnson
6. Joseph Johnson m. Elizabeth Butterworth
7. James Johnson m. Penelope Anthony
8. Joseph Anthony m. Elizabeth Clark
9. Christopher Clark m. Penelope Bolling
10. John Bolling (b. 1/27/1676) (d. 4/20/1729) m. Mary Kennon, daughter of Richard and Elizabeth (Worsham) Kennon on 12/29/1697. Henrico Records
11. Robert Bolling m. Jane Rolfe
12. Thomas Rolfe m. Miss Pytress
13. John Rolfe m. Pocahontas in 1616

Also in the files is a long letter written by Clarkson Butterworth to "Cousin" Joseph Franklin Gillespie, Nevada, Iowa, on March 1, 1899, from Waynesville, Ohio. In this he names hundreds of persons in the lineage, giving descriptions whenever possible. Presumably, much of this is accurate, however, at one point he writes, "You are a descendant from Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Staftsbury, whose granddaughter Penelope Massie, married Sir William Johnson, a Scottish nobleman. Benjamin Johnson, who married Agnes Clark, daughter of Christopher and Penelope Clark (generation 8) was his son. This fact does not concur with previous lineages. However, this is available for other descendants to delve into if they wish.


JACOB PIETERSE KRIJGER
1779-1833
Holland
Adraantje Kooijman
1783-1858
PIETER KRYGER
1818-1894
(1) Adriaantje Boer
1815-1848
Jacob Krijger
1841-1885
Leonard (Leendert)
1845-1911
Mary Catherine Thomson
(2) Tannetje Corbeel
1818-1876
Thomas
1851-1942
M. L. Hardin/
C. Stephenson/
Jennie Adriana
1865-1946
Charles E. Chard
HENRY EDWIN KRYGER
1857-1905
Hannah Estella Mallory
1860-1945
Cornelius Marinus
1858-1925
Hattie Clark
Isaac
1860 - ?
Miles
1888-1888
ROBERT GUY KRYGER
1884-1948
Blanche McNabb
1893-1981
Ralph Mallory
1889-1973
Catherine Huffman
Lila Catherine
1917 ---
(1) Gene Barrett
1916
(2) George Garver
1905-1978
Kathleen (Hartigan)
1942 --
Robert Gene Barrett
1944 --
Richard James Barrett
1948 --
Jeannette Joyce
1925 ------
Melvin Crosson
1919
Barbara (Davis)
1949
Catherine (Billiet)
1952


HANS JACOB GERBER
CHRISTIAN GARVER
1720 (?) - 1798
Elizabeth _____ (3)
1757-1828
SAMUEL I
1782-1853
Margaret Emrick
1785-1854
SAMUEL II
1821-1916
Sarah Coldsmith
1820-1902
THEODORE FRANKLIN
1845-1929
Mary Diller
1845-1919
ROBERT DILLER
1878-1963
Charlotte Parkhurst
1879-1971
GEORGE PARKHURST GARVER
1905-1978
Susan Gillespie Wright
1906-1965
ROBERT WRIGHT GARVER
1933 ----
Judy Corwin
1937 ----
Linda Susan
1957 -----
James Williams
Robert Corwin Garver
1959 ------
Charlotte
1964 -----
Brianna
Ashley
Tyler

Robert Wright Garver

1933 --

ROBERT WRIGHT GARVER

BIRTH:	November 17, 1933--St. Francis Hospital, Evanston, Illinois
BAPTISM:	December 23, 1934--Second Presbyterian Church, Kansas City, Missouri
PARENTS:	Only child of Susan Wright and George Parkhurst Garver
MARRIAGE:	Judy Corwin--May 12, 1956, Dedham, Mass.
CHILDREN:	Linda Susan--June 7, 1957, Seattle, Washington Robert Corwin--July 9, 1959, Boston, Mass. Charlotte Ann--May 21, 1964, Lake Forest, Illinois

1933-1948

Lived in various apartments in Evanston, Illinois, except for approximately four months in 1945, when lived in Kew Gardens, Long Island, New York, while Dad getting discharged from the U.S. Navy. Spent that summer in Kansas City, Missouri returning to Evanston in October, 1945.

Attended Lincoln Elementary School in Evanston from Kindergarten through Grade 6. Attended Nichols Junior High School in Evanston Grades 7 and 8. Attended Evanston Township High School for freshman year, 1947-1948.

Spent summers at family cottage in Ludington, Michigan with first cousin Graham Campbell, his family and our grandparents. Especially enjoyed the car ferry rides across Lake Michigan, from Milwaukee, Wisconsin to Ludington.

Ardent baseball (Chicago Cubs) fan. Collected players autographs, also collected china dogs, stamps and coins. A real dog lover--had two, Skippy, a fox terrier and Shiner, a toy dalmation (not at the same time!).

Enjoyed all sports, though not very good at any. Also like building model airplanes, ships, etc. Did very well in school and enjoyed studying.

1948-1960

Family moved from Evanston to Winnetka, Illinois in 1948--our first house. Attended New Trier Township High School. Graduated in 1951, 18th in a class of 600. Member of National Honor Society, awarded scholarship for college through Navy's Holloway Plan, played Charley in school performance of "Charley's Aunt" during senior year, and also appeared in senior class variety show entitled "Lagniappe".

Attended Dartmouth College in Hanover, New Hampshire.

1951-1955

Awarded Letter for three years a member of Varsity Lightweight Crew. Joined Phi Delta Theta fraternity at beginning of Sophomore year. Summers spent on required Navy cruises as Midshipman. Visited Norway, Ireland, England and Cuba on Battleship U.S.S. Missouri (1952) and U.S.S. William R. Rush (1954). Summer of 1953 spent in Virginia Beach, Virginia for amphibious training, and Corpus Christi, Texas for flight training. Met future wife, Judy Corwin during senior year. She was from Dedham, Massachusetts attending Bradford Junior College in Haverhill, Massachusetts. Graduated from Dartmouth in June, 1955, with Distinction in major subject, Economics. Immediately entered U.S. Navy as Ensign for required three years of active duty.

Assigned to U.S.S. Staten Island (AGB-5), an icebreaker stationed in Seattle, Washington. Ship departed two weeks after reporting aboard for three month tour resupplying DEW (Distance Early Warning) line in Northern Alaska. Spent winter and spring of 1956 in Seattle, except for six weeks at Communications School in Newport, R.I.

Judy and I became engaged Christmas, 1955, and were married May 12, 1956 in Dedham, Massachusetts at Allin Congregational Church. Following day, flew to Chicago, picked up new 1956 Chevrolet (gift of my parents) and drove across country to Seattle.

Spent summer of 1956 in Arctic, once awain on Dewline resupply. Returned to Seattle in September, only to be told that ship would be a part of Operation Deepfreeze II, departing in early November for six months in Antarctica (not good news for newlyweds!).

November 1956 to April 1957 spent enrout to, at, and enroute from the Weddell Sea in Antarctica. Ship stopped along the way in Panama. Talcahuano (Chile), Punta Arenas (Chile) and Lima (Peru). My job was Navigator, at which I had had no prior experience. Fascinating trip, as no ship had ever been where we went (we escorted one other ship, a supply vessel). We constructed a base where some 35 scientists remained after we left for 12 months of observation and data gathering.

Our first child Linda Susan was born on June 7, 1957 in Seattle, at Virginia Mason Hospital. Shortly thereafter, I was transferred to the U.S.S. Virgo (AKA-90) in Concord, California (outside of San Francisco), an ammunition ship, which departed in June for a six month tour of the Southwest Pacific. Ports of call included Pearl Harbor, Guam, Sydney, Australia, Hong Kong, Kobe and Yokasuka (Japan) and Subic Bay (Phillipines). Returned to San Francisco on December 23, 1957, just in time for Christmas.

In early 1958, Virgo received orders to be decommissioned in Astoria, Oregon, where Judy, Linda and I spent four months until I received my discharge in May, 1958, at the rank of Lieutenant, J.G. We returned to Chicago and spent the summer with my parents in Winnetka.

In September, 1959 I entered Harvard Business School's two year graduate degree program in Business Administration. We lived in the Charlesbank apartments on Storrow Drive in Newton, which was a short commute to the school in Allston. It was a very difficult and testing period for me, since the competition was intense and after three years in the Navy, I was out of the habit of studying. I "survived" the first year (my grades weren't really that bad) and relaxed during the summer with a job as clerk in the Trust Department at Second Bank State Street Trust Company in Boston.

On July 9, 1959 our second child, Robert Corwin was born at Boston Lying In Hospital, Boston, Massachusetts. At the time we were living in a rented house in West Roxbury, Massachusetts, where we remained until my graduation in May, 1960.

1960-1968

Following graduation from Harvard Business School, I joined Continental Illinois National Bank and Trust Company of Chicago as a trainee. We purchased our first home, at 2015 Thornwood Lane in Northbrook, a suburban community 25 miles north of Chicago.

In late 1962, I completed the $2\frac{1}{2}$ year training program at the bank and was assigned to Commercial Lending Group U, which was responsible for the oil and gas and public utility industries. I was to remain with Group U until I left the bank in mid-1968.

In September, 1963, our oldest daughter Linda contracted a serious illness, known as Stevens-Johnson Syndrome, from which she ultimately recovered but which permanently damaged her eyes and eyesight. As a result, over the years which followed, we had to make frequent and difficult trips to Boston, Massachusetts and to London, England, where Dr. Frederick Ridley fitted her for scleral lenses which essentially saved her eyes and gave her adequate vision to live a normal life.

I was promoted to Assistant Cashier, the junior officer position at the bank in 1964. That was not the major event of that year, however, as our third child, Charlotte Ann was born on May 21st in Lake Forest, Illinois. With Charlotte's birth, we had finally outgrown our three bedroom ranch house on Thornwood Lane, moving the following year "across the tracks" to a four bedroom Cape Cod home at 1137 Walnut Lane, also in Northbrook.

In early 1965, my mother passed away shortly after suffering a severe stroke. At that time, my parents were living in Northfield, Illinois, where they moved in 1958 from Winnetka. A year later, in 1966, my father sold that

house and moved into an apartment on Lake Shore Drive in Chicago, overlooking Lake Michigan. He lived there alone until his marriage to Lila Catherine ("Pinkie") Barrett in 1967.

We made the major decision in early 1968 to relocate our family to the Boston, Massachusetts area. While a number of factors influenced the decision, not the least of which was the desirability of the New England area as a place to raise a family, the major and compelling reason was our desire to be near the outstanding medical facilities and doctors which Linda required as a result of her illness. It was especially difficult for me to leave Continental Bank, who had been very sympthetic and helpful in giving me the time to deal with Linda's problems and who had given me another promotion (to Second Vice President) just a few months prior to my departure.

1968-1986

In July, 1968, I joined Charlestown Savings Bank of Boston, Massachusetts as Vice President. Unlike Continental Illinois, which was a commercial bank, Charlestown was a savings bank with about $300 million in assets and seven offices in the Boston metropolitan area. My job was to work with the President and to prepare to succeed him within ten years.

We purchased a large garrison colonial home on an acre of land in Wayland, a suburb twenty miles west of Boston. It was by far our largest house, with five bedrooms and a den and the area was more rural than our Illinois homes, with a dairy farm less than half a mile away and conservation land abutting. In short, an ideal place for a young family.

My career with the bank went well, as I was promoted to Executive Vice President in 1971 and to President in December 1974. In April, 1978 I was elected Chief Executive Officer, serving in that position until March 1986. I retired from the bank in December, 1986, after 18 years of service at the ripe old age of 53.

During my tenure at Charlestown, the bank grew in size to over $1 billion, and in offices to 23. Two major mergers were achieved, including one in 1982 which added Cape Cod to our market area. The name of the bank

was changed in 1982 to Newworld Bank for Savings and, in 1984, we became a public company, selling 4 million shares to various institutional and individual investors.

My greatest professional honor was my appointment in 1981 to a nine-member advisory group working with the Federal Reserve Board and its Chairman, Paul Volcker, to assess and address the problems of the thrift industry during the turbulent days of the early 1980's. We met quarterly in Washington with the full Federal board for two years and it was a memorable experience.

In addition to serving on numerous state and national industry committees during my career, I was also privileged to serve as President of the Dartmouth Alumni Association of Eastern Massachusetts (1977-78), President of the Massachusetts Easter Seal Society (1982-84), and Treasurer and Director of the Urban League of Eastern Massachusetts (1984-86),

My father passed away in November, 1978, at the age of 72. He had been in declining health for several years prior to that but enjoyed life to the end, and refused to be a burden to others. While it was very difficult for me to lose my last parent, I was thankful that he had lived to see me achieve the same success (President of my company) as he had realized during his lifetime. I know he was as proud of me as I was of him.

Our oldest daughter Linda graduated from the Cambridge School of Weston, Massachusetts in 1974, and subsequently attended Ithaca College in Ithaca, New York for one year. In 1982, she married James Williams, a native Californian. As of the date of this writing (1987), they live in Novato, California and have blessed us with three wonderful grandchildren, Brianna Rachel, age 5; Ashley Christina, age 3; and Tyler Robert (after his maternal grandfather), age 4 months.

Our middle child Robert graduated from Wayland High School (where he excelled on the track team) in 1977. He attended American University in Washington, D.C. for his freshman and sophomore years in college, and then transferred to Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois (my birthplace), from

which he graduated in 1981. He then went on to pursue a career in the film industry, working in Boston, New York City, and finally Los Angeles, where he moved in 1986.

Our youngest daughter, Charlotte, graduated from Walnut Hill School in Natick, Massachusetts in 1982. She attended Pine Manor College in Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts, from which she graduated in 1986. Desiring to remain in the New England (and more specifically, Boston) area, she now works with a major advertising agency in Boston. She became engaged to be married in late of 1987 to Erich Smith, a Boston banker, with the wedding scheduled for June 18, 1988 in Harwichport on Cape Cod.

As my retirement from the bank approached at the end of 1986, Judy and I decided that we wanted to do something entirely different with our lives in a new, as yet unidentified place. We had purchased a small condominium in 1985 in Stuart, Florida at the suggestion of my aunt, Mary Gaines, my father's sister, who occupied another unit in the same development, known as Mariner Cay. We decided we would go there immediately after I retired to relax and begin the planning for our "Fabulous Fifties" (Judy had reached the milestone on New Years Day, 1987 -- I had preceded her by a small amount).

1987

Following a delightful two weeks in Stuart, we drove north as far as Charleston, South Carolina, stopping at various locations along the way to examine possible future places to live (after 30 years of snowy winters, we were ready for something more tropical). Our last stop was Hilton Head Island, South Carolina and it turned out to be the best - a beautiful resort island sandwiched between the intracoastal waterway and Atlantic Ocean, with all of the amenities we sought, including sandy beaches, tennis, golf, boating and even a small airport.

We purchased a lot 200 yeards from the ocean and are in the process of constructing a "dream home" - three bedrooms, three baths, located on the ninth fairway of one of three golf course in Port Royal Plantation, one of six plantations on the island. We will have our own small pool and at least two palm trees!

Since we were much too young to retire to a life of leisure, we both obtained our real estate licenses and joined the local Century 21 franchise where, over time, we hope to earn enough in commissions to pay for the house (or at least the pool).

We're looking forward to our second Fifty!

Written by Robert Wright Garver--November 1987

"More Than Just A House"

In the early days of this country, a man's riches were first his land, and then followed his family, his home, his church, and his place in his community. The first residents of this fertile and generous tract of land and its lovely home in Greene Township, Franklin County, Pennsylvania, were blessed with all of these early rewards. Because of their high moral principles and an undefinable inner strength, they not only reaped the harvests of their good life but passed on a magnificent heritage to those who followed many years later.

This house is not a structure of brick and mortar -- it is the mother of a line of fine and beautiful human beings dedicated to all that is wholesome and good in life.

If only the walls of this handsome residence could tell the wisdom and lessons that stern but loving parents must have transmitted to their children to inspire them to courageously go out into the world -- sometimes to unknown and faraway places, such as Illinois and Kansas -- where they carved their own niche in the world of accomplishment!

If only the walls could reveal what made the children laugh and love each other so devotedly until the end, although miles apart!

If only the walls could tell of the prayer meetings and hymns sung in the family parlor that inspired these children to found new churches and preach the Word they had first learned at their father's knee!

If only the walls could describe the young brides as they walked down the stairs on their wedding days!

If only the walls could tell how the family faced the sorrows and worries as two of their sons volunteered to serve in the Civil War when the cannons were roaring a few miles away from their quiet farmhouse and the town of Bhambersburg was being burned to the ground!

If only the walls could tell what books graced their shelves that inspired those children to seek higher education and become a doctor, lawyers, and a minister!

If only the walls could tell of a dear mother's selfless love for children and a father's guidance that merited the undying respect of his children!

If only the walls could repeat the words a father says to his sons to make them love and respect their land!

If only these walls could tell the punishments and rewards dealt out to these little ones that made each one ambitious, strong, and morally incorrupt!

These are only a few of the secrets the silent walls of this beautiful home jealously guard and will never reveal no matter how hard we who followed listen and search for the answer. For one who has been privileged only a few hours in this home, restored to its original form by loving and concerned owners, my hope is that its residents -- no matter how many years hence -- will always respect its character and cherish it for the untold memories it holds in its timbers.

Franklin County Court House Records
Chambersburg, Penn.

The following items were found in the Franklin County Court House, all of which pertained to Samuel Garver II.

Item		Date	Book	Page	Place
1007	John Skinner, Jr.	10/18/1854	28	115	Fannette
1049	Wm. Herron	10/12/55	29	354	
1203	James Waddle	3/11/64	37	563	Greene
1361	Edw. C. Dele	10/30/65	40	110	"
1363	Edw. C. Dele	10/30/65	40	111	"
1384	Edw. C. Dele	4/7/66	40	463	"
1440	Christian Freet	4/27/66	42	359	
1449	Martha J. Waddle	8/19/70	48	274	
1945	O. D. Coldsmith	11/18/78	62	16	
1984	Chas. Eagens Assig.	12/17/79	63	377	Chambersburg
2145	Wm. Gelwichs Assig.	1/17/84	71	282	"
2368	M. L. Garver et al	2/16/88	80	512	
2629	Chambersburg Wollen Mfg. Co.	4/7/90	91	500	
2770	David Garver	8/19/93	97	375	
3451	Susan M. M. Owens	12/26/1902	127	132	
1154	Garver & Dice	3/6/58 Deed	Samuel Garver		
1164	Garver & Dice	3/60 A of A	John Criswell		
2924	Emma C.	1/4/95 P of A	Samuel Garver (nephew)		

4-1-1856 (Book 20, page 327, Item 839) -- Samuel Garver, Jr. purchased land in Green Twp. from Thomas McCracken containing 149A for $6,375

4-1-1857 (Book 97, p. 375, Item 2770) -- Deed. David and Elizabeth Garver -- selling remainder of Samuel (Dr.) Garver land - $12,867 -- reference to Samuel Garver heirs, April, 1854

Jacob and wife
Samuel and wife
Martin and wife
John and wife
Daniel
Sarah

3-6-1858 (Book 33, p. 224, Item 1154) -- Deed from Samuel Garver and wife Sarah, to Jacob Garver and William Dice - selling real estate in Green Twp. being part of a larger tract of land which was conveyed by the heirs of the late Samuel Garver, Sr. by deed dated 4-14-54 to David Garver and by his deed dated 4-1-57 to Samuel Garver, Jr.

12-28-69 (Book 91, p. 500) -- Special stock of Chambersburg Woolen Manufacturing Co. in amount of $44,200 of which $8,200 have been cancelled, leaving unpaid and outstanding certificates amounting to $36,000, of which Samuel Garver owned 5 shares valued at $500

9-26-1873 (Book 80, p. 512, Item 2368) -- M. L. Garver et al to Samuel Garver Power of Attorney (Whereas M. L. Garver and wife and Susie G. Battin and husband....conveyed to Mary A. Hesson a tract of land with improvement in Green Twp... M. L. Garver, Sedgwick Co., State of Kansas

3-3-1886 (Book 76, p. 541, Item 2273) -- Deed from Sue G. Battin and M. E. Battin, her husband, Mary A. Hesson and Rev. A. J. Hesson of Peabody, Kansas, M. L. Garver and Kate B. Garver, his wife, of Wichita, Kansas, sell to Sarah Garver of Scotland, Pa. for $4000 real estate in Borough of Chambersburg consisting of a lot of ground with a two story brick dwelling house erected on the front end and two story brick double dwelling on the rear end of said lot, the lot being 256 feet deep and 32 feet wide.

3-18067 Deed from John B. Renfrew to M. L. Garver, Susie G. Battin, (late Susie G. Garver) and Mary A. Garver conveying real estate in the borough of Chambersburg for $2,750. Witnessed by Lyman S. Clarke

11-14-78 (Item 1945, Book 62, p. 16) -- Oliver D. Coldsmith and Harriet A. Coldsmith, Green Township to Hastings Gehr and Samuel Garver. Deed Assignment. Oliver D. Coldsmith owing to sundry losses and misfortunes is at present unable to discharge his just debts and is willing to assign all his property for benefit of his creditors....for $1.00....assigned transfer....tracts of land in Township of Greene adjoining lands of Wm. McClure, George Etter, Samuel Etter, Wm. Berry, George Coldsmith (183A...Hastings Gehr and Samuel Garver shall as soon as possible dispose of all lands, tenements, goods and chattels -- deduct reasonable costs of Samuel Garver and Hastings Gehr -- Pay creditors and if any remains, deliver to Oliver D. Coldsmith.

12-26-1902 (Book 127, p. 132, Item 3451) - Susan M. M. Owens (Mrs. John Owens, 3026 Girard Ave., Philadelphia) nee Susan Matilda Miller, acknowledged receipt of $150 from Sarah Garver Will -- Release of legacy.

GARVERS IN CIVIL WAR - PENNSYLVANIA

Abram B. - Co. E - 5 Pa. Cav. - Pvt.
Charles - C99 - Penn. Inf. - Pvt.
Charles - C138 - Penn. Inf. - Pvt.
Charles - B190 - Penn. Inf. - Pvt.
Charles - A210 - Penn. Inf. - Pvt.
*Charles F. - A - 26th Penn. Mil. Inf. Emergency - Pvt.
Charles S. - 5 - Co. H Artillery - Pvt.
Daniel - H205 - Penn. Inf. - Pvt. **
David - C77 - Penn. Inf. - Pvt. ***
George - 5 Penn. Cav. - Pvt.
Henry - C 5 Penn. Res. Inf.; FA 157 Penn. Inf.; F191 Penn. Inf.
James - Ringold Battn. Pa. Cav.
James - A 10th Penn. Inf.
Joel - Indep. Battery C. - Penn. L. Arty
John - L 14th Penn Cav.
John - 22nd Penn. Cav.
Joseph - E 6th Penn. Cav.
Joseph - Co. B - 9th Penn Inf.
Joseph - M - 14th Penn. Cav. - Corporal
*Martin L. O. - Co. A - 26th Penn. Mil. Inf., Emer. 1863
Michael - F9 - 16th Penn. Cav.
Michael - F - 126 Penn. Inf.
Nicholas C. - Battery B - 6th Penn. Res. Inf.; K - 6th Penn. Res. Inf.
Samuel H. - C - 124th Penn. Inf.
*Theodore - Co. A. 26th Penn. Mil Inf. Emergency 1863 - Pvt.
William - H - 97th Penn. Inf. - Sergeant

** Wife Sarah E. filed for pension June 4, 1866
*** Filed for pension 1891 from Kansas - Wife, Lucy C.

APPENDIX

Early Gerber Arrivals In America

There are numerous Garvers recorded whose connections to the Jacob Gerber line are unknown, but it is felt that their existence must be mentioned because of the probability of their relationship.

Among the boat arrivals were:[1]

Michael Gerber - Ship Hope of London, Rotterdam, Cowes - Sept. 23, 1734*
Hans Gerber, Jr. - Charming Polly, Rotterdam, Cowes - October 8, 1737
Hans Christian Gerber - Charming Nancy, Rotterdam, Cowes - Nov. 9, 1738
Johannes Gerber - Francis-Elizabeth, Rotterdam, Deal - Sept. 21, 1742
John Adam Gerber - St. Andrew, Rotterdam, Cowes - October 7, 1743
Johannes Gerber - Wirtembergers - September 2, 1749
Adam Gerber - From Palatinate and Zweibrucken, Rotterdam, Deal Sept. 26, 1749
Hannes Gerber - Phoenix, Rotterdam, Cowes - August 28, 1750 (339 aboard)
Hans Michael Gerber - Edinburgh - Sept. 16, 1751 (10 Roman Catholics, 345 aboard)
Michael Gerber - Patience, Rotterdam, Cowes - Sept. 17, 1753
Felix Gerber - Halifax, Rotterdam, Cowes - Sept. 28, 1758

*Passenger List: 49 males over 16; 45 females; 14 boys; 17 girls; total 125

Another Garver who is believed but not proven to be a relative of Jacob Gerber is Christian Gerber. His will, dated November 5, 1768, and probated January 14, 1769, in Lancaster County, shows him to have lived in the same general period as Jacob and, although a common Garver name, could have been Jacob's brother, who reportedly came to America with Jacob.

In the first census taken in the United States in 1790 in Pennsylvania, it lists Jacob as living in Earle Township, Berks County, Pennsylvania. In his household were 3 males over 16, 3 males under 16 and 3 females. There also was a John listed as a resident of Earl Township. This is the township where Christian (son of Jacob) had lived and the same township he left in 1790.

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1. 30,000 Names of Immigrants of German, Swiss, Dutch, French Descent 1772-1776. By Prof. I. Daniel Rupp. Baltimore, 1965 (Reprint)

History of Name

The Garver surname is closely associated with the Germanic Gerber name which came from a description of a tanner or furrier, a man who prepared leather from animal hides. Other spellings which have become popular over the years, are Garver, Gerver, Garbert, Garb and Gorver.

Out of the chaos of the Dark Ages there emerged many professions which banded together forming an association in order to regulate their trade. These trade guilds were a monopoly of similar interests under the authority of a steward and a committee of elected members. No townsman was able to sell or buy in the town except under the conditions laid down by the guild.

The Garvers (or Gerbers) were early members of the guild and went about their task of trapping animals and preparing the furs and hides for marketing. Before anyone was allowed in this profession, he had to demonstrate his ability. The system of apprenticeship was the outgrowth of the trade guilds and when a young man entered the trade of the "gerber" he agreed to serve under the master furrier, the Garver. In return for the duties he performed, he was given bed and board and often was taught to read and write.

The Garver and Gerber families rose to high rank and title throughout the Germanic-territories. Records show they were granted estates in Saxony, Germany, Silesia, Switzerland and in the lands under the rule of the emperors.

One of the significant armorial bearings granted to the family shows a shield which is divided into three parts. The top portion is gold and has an eagle on it, possibly the Imperial Eagle of the Emperors of the Silesian eagle which is always colored red. The lion may also have symbolized the Silesian dukes. The fleur de lis colored silver on a blue background in the lower part of the shield typifies the "free towns" of the empire which often displayed the fleur de lis as an emblem. (1)

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1. Newspaper State Journal article What's In Your Name

This reference to German ancestry did not conflict with the Swiss heritage beliefs held by J. T. Garver, descendant of Christian, as he pointed out that "We know that the industry of tanning had early and extensive development on the pastural valleys and along the wooded slopes and foothills of the Jura Mts. in northern and western Switzerland."[1]

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1. Garver Reunion in Ohio, J. T. Garver, p. 11.

WASHINGTON COUNTY, MARYLAND COURTHOUSE RECORDS

Ballance No. 1 1778-1865 --On Deceased Person Estate
--Thomas Sprigg, Register

March 22, 1800

John Barr, Adm. CHRISTOPHER CARVER	)Ballance due upon passing final account	272.17.6
	)To the Widow	90.19.2
	)To each of heirs, 19 in all, 9.11.575	181.18.4
		272.17.6

- - -

Christopher Carver - John Barr
1.
2.
3. 2-3-1798 (Grant of Letters)

- - -

General Index

1. Appr. Pers. Prop - Liber B - 247
Sale Prop. A-207
Accounts 2-70
2-88
2-102

The third Account of John Barr Adm. of Christopher Carver late of Washington County Deceased --

This Accountant charges himself with the Ballance of his Second Account	368.17.10
Also with the Amount of Interest received on the Vendue Money	4.18.6
	373.16.4

And he claims an allowance for the following payments to wit

Of money paid David Stoner of Bond proved and reasonable	30.0.0
David Stoner of Bond proved and reasonable	30.0.0
David Stoner of Bond proved and reasonable	13.5
Samuel Bachtell Acct.	9.5.9
Jacob Rohrer Adm. of Henry Knively	.12.9
Of for 1 Bed, Bedstead, 1 Chest, claimed by Eve Carver which the Orphans Court allowed to her Having Appraised and included in the inventory of her	10.14.0
Of Money paid John Gruber printing advertisements	.6.0
Of Money paid the Register of acct. file	:15.7

Admo Accounts for	100.18.10
Ballance due estate	272.17.0
Whole Amount	373.16.4

Washington County__On the 22 day of March, 1800 came John Barr and made oath that the above account is just and true and that he had bona-fida paid or secured to be paid the particular claims for which he claims as Allowance whereupon after Examination is passed (?) by

THOMAS BELT, Reg.

The Second Account of John Barr Adm. Christopher Carver Deceased

This Accountant Charges himself with the
Ballance of his first Account 515.2.9

And he claims an allowance for
the following payments to wit

Of Money paid David Stoner for Bond proved true 30.0.0
Of Money paid Elizabeth Sheas for Bond " " 115.10.10
Of Money paid the Register for acct. filed .8.1

Adm. Acct. for	146.4.11
Ballance due Estate	368.17.10
Whole Amount	515.2.9

Washington County ____On the 7 Day of December, 1799 came John Barr, Adm. Christopher Carver late of said County Deceased and made Oath that the above account is just and true and that he hath bona fida paid or secured to be paid the parties____sums for which they claim an allowance. Whereupon after Examination is_____(Payed?) by

THOMAS BELT, Reg.

HALL OF RECORDS
Liber O #14
Fol. 183-188
Wk. 88-889
Page 188

COMMISSIONERS ATTENDANCE

William_____	three days 15/	2.5.0	The Court Directs that
Martin Crider	three days 15/	2.5.0	the abstract from John Carver
John Mentzer	three days 15/	2.5.0	who has elected us to take
		6.15.0	the estate mentioned in the
Walter Boyd Surveyor			commission at the appraise-
Charge for surveying		3.0.0	ment and pay to the commis-
			sioners and surveyor the

respective sums as above stated and that he charges the representatives with the respective proportions of the whole sum so paid and they or their Guardians do allow to him their parts respectively. (Translated from hand writing as well as possible)

Liber 2
Page 70-71
Estate Exhibit #2

The first Account of John Barr Administrator of Christopher Carver late of Washington County Deceased

This Accountant Charges himself with the amount of an Inventory Exhibited on Said Estate	575.9.2
Also with the difference between the Inventory and the Actual Sales as of Vendues list file	108.19.10
Also with Jacob Finks Note for	25.
Also with Jacob Lighters Debt	3.
Also with Michael Sailors Debt	1.2.6
Also with Seventy Seven Pounds Pork Sold by the Widow to Leven Hays as_____	2.7.9
	716.9.3

And he claims an allowance for the following paymounts and Disbursments to wit

Of Money paid	Martin Grider of Note proved & real	5.4.6
" " "	Martin Grider of Acct proved & real	3.18.3
" " "	George Augusteen of Bond proved & real	15.7.6
" " "	Daniel Royor of Acct proved & real	2.8.5 1/2
" " "	David Stoner of Bond proved & real	30.14.0
" " "	Coroner fees proved	1.11.3
" " "	Abraham Stoner of Note proved & real	35.2.9
" " "	Abraham Stoner of Account proved & real	10.0.0
" " "	Christian Lentz of Acct. proved & real	2.5
" " "	Barbara Garver of Acct. proved & real	4.1.6
" " "	John Hogan lying Vendue_____	2.5
" " "	Martin Barr Appraiser _____	.5
" " "	Abraham Nieuwander App._____	.7.6
" " "	Henry Wisly for Whiskey for Vendee___	6.
" " "	John Gruber printing advertisements____	.7.6
" " "	Charles King Clerk Vendee_____	.15.
" " "	John Hogan___Vendee Second time	1.2.6
" " "	Ludwick Emrick for Dec. Coffin ____	1.2.0*Father-in-
" " "	John Mensor for Whiskey Vendee_____	.3. Law of
" " "	Funeral Expenses	.11.3Samuel
" " "	The Registers fees of acct. file	2.7.0
" " "	for the Family Expenses for one year	20.0.0
		145.19.5 1/2
" " "	for Adm Commission on the Amt. Sales _____and file	55.7.0 1/2

Adm - Accts for	201.6.7
Balance due Estate	515.2.9
Whole Estate	716.9.3

Liber 2
Page 70-71
Estate Exhibit #2

Washington County_____On the 19 day of May, 1799 came John Barr Admn. (?) of Christopher Carber late of Said County Deceased and Made Oath that the written Acct. is just and true as Stated and that he had bona fida paid or secured to be paid the particular sums for which he claims an allowance when upon after Examination is passed (?) by.

THOMAS BELT, Reg.

At the request of John Carver and others that the following Commission was recorded the 20th February, 1802.

Washington County_____The State of Maryland to _____, William Martin Crider, John Mentzner, Robert Hughes and Christian Mayor of Washington County. Greeting.

Whereas John Carver, Martin Carver, Christian Carver, Abraham Smutz and Mary his wife, Yort Gardiner and Nancy his wife, Martin Stockman and Fanny his wife, Jacob Funk and Polly his wife, Barbara Carver, Michael Sumners and Caty his wife, David Carver, Ludwick Snyder and Elizabeth his wife, Jacob Harshman and Hester his wife and Eve Carver have be their petition to our County Court held for Washington County at January Four, One thousand seven hundred and ninety nine set forth that Christian Carver hath lately departed this life in the County of Washington aforesaid intestate, as it is said, leaving your petitioners and Abraham Carver, Isaac, Jacob, Samuel, Sarah and Betsey Infants under the age of twenty one years, legal representatives of him, the said Christian Carver deceased, that the said Christian died of seizure in his Domaine as of T_____of a Tract of Land being part of a Track of Land called Fathers Good Will, lying and being in Washington County aforesaid, which was laid out for and contains one hundred and ninety seven acres of Land situated in the county aforesaid and prays that the Court would agreeably to the act of assembly directing Descents appoint Guardians to such of the children aforesaid as are under age of twenty one years and that commission might issue payment to the directions of the Act of Assembly entitled an act to direct descents to divide and make partition of the said

Land between the parties by Law entitled thereto or to ascertain the Value thereof, to the end that further proceedings may be held in the Premises in case the same cannot be divided without injury and loss to all the parties entitled thereto.

Whereupon Abraham Carver, Isaac Carver, Jacob Carver, Sarah Carver and Betsey Carver, five of the children under age as aforesaid, appearing in Court and choosing Christian Myers as their Guardian who being present was appointed by the Court and accepts the same appointment, which petition being grated and we having great confidence in your prudence, integrity, and sound judgment have thereupon appointed and commissioned you, after having given reasonable notice to all the parties concerned and taking the oath to proceed well and truly and without favor, partiality, or prejudice to adjudge and determine whether the land mentioned in the aforesaid petition will admit of being divided without injury and loss to all the parties entitled and to aportion (sic) the value of the said Land in current money and if the aforesaid Land can in your opinion and Judgment be divided without loss and injury to all the parties entitled that you will then divide and make partition of the same fairly and equally between all the parties entitled according to their several and respective portions and if you shall determine that the estate can not be divided without loss and injury to all the parties entitled then you shall make return to our next County Court to be held at the Court House in Elizabeth Town in Washington County aforesaid on the first Monday of December next, of your Judgment and the reasons upon which the same is founded and the real value of said estate in current money, and if you shall determine that the Land or estate can be divided without loss or injury to all

the parties entitled you shall cause the said Land to be surveyed and laid out by the County Surveyor, or such other person as you may think qualified, for the several parties and you or a majority of you shall alot (sic) the several parties their respective shares of the said land and you shall after having made partition or allotment in manner aforesaid return your proceedings to the next December Court aforesaid and if you shall be of opinion that the aforesaid Land is not worth more than fifteen pounds ready current money per acre, then the same shall not be divided into any share less than fifteen acres each and if the Land shall not be above the Value aforesaid and if there be not sufficient to distribute to each person entitled fifty acres and the Land is determined to admit of Division without loss or injury to all the parties entitled aforesaid then you shall equally divide the same among each number of persons entitled as the quantity of Land divided by fifty will give and you are requisitioned to return under your hands and seals all your proce-dings respecting the said land to our said next County Court to be held at Elizabeth Town, Washington County, as aforesaid, and you are hereby further empowered to execute all other powers to commissions, by the act entitled "an act to direct descents" proposed at November Session, Seventeen hundred and Eighty five.

Witness George Scott, Esquire, presiding Justice of our said Court the 12th day of August, Anno Domino 1800_____the 27th day of Sept. 1800.

O. H. Williams, Clk.

State of Maryland Washington County to wit

We the _____commissioners appointed by Washington County Court by virtue of the commission hereto annexed do make return of the same to the County Court of Washington County in manner following to wit.

We the commissioners having first respectively taken the oath to the said Commission annexed and having given reasonable notice to all the parties concerned met on the Land mentioned in the said commission on the 22nd day of October, 1801 and adjourned to the 10th day of November, 1801 on which said last mentioned day the commissioners met on the said mentioned Land and having first fully considered the value of the Land do adjudge and determine that the inheritance on the said commission mentioned consists of Lands together with the appurtenances worth less than fifteen pounds current money per (/) acre and do also further adjudge and determine that the said Estate cannot be divided without injury and loss to all the parties entitled thereto also make return to the honorable Court of Washington County of the reasons upon which our judgment as aforesaid is formed, to wit, because there is not a sufficient quantity of Land to give fifty acres to each person entitled thereto, as will more fully appear by referring to the aforesaid commission and secondly because the value of the said land is less than fifteen pounds current money per acre.

The commissioners further make return and report to the said honorable court that the real (?) value of the Lands and premises in the said commission contained _____Seven hundred and fifty nine pounds current money, containing one hundred and eighty four acres of Land of the value of Eleven Dollars per acre subject to the dowery of Elizabeth Carver, widow of Christian Carver deceased, which dower

we the commissioners have taken into consideration and we the said commissioners further make notice to the commission annexed that by virtue thereof we have ascertained and laid off the dower of Elizabeth Carver, widow of Christian Carver deceased___and to the said lands and improvements of the said inheritance and Lands in the said commission mentioned before we valued the same and we make the ascertainment and location? of the Dower of the said Elizabeth Carver as a part of this our return as follows, to wit, beginning at two white oak saplings, the beginning of the _____from David Stoner_____Christian Carver for the aforesaid Land and running thence with the first

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